



US ELECTION

Full guide to the White House race

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THE TIMES

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9

'I'm cabinet's biggest Euro-sceptic'

Major leads the charge against Tory mutineers

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHN Major last night led a concerted cabinet campaign to bring Tory rebels into line on Maastricht amid mounting evidence that the government is facing a perilously close vote tomorrow night.

Describing himself as the biggest Euro-sceptic in the cabinet, the prime minister reassured loyalists and wavering about British sovereignty and warned them not to be put off by "Euro-waffle" in the Maastricht treaty preamble which had "no legal force whatever".

His address to 15 MPs in his room at the Commons came after Michael Heseltine had told the rebels that they were bent on a course of "incalculable destructiveness" and Kenneth Clarke had appealed to them not to leave the government "frozen in ice", unable to proceed with its European policy.

There was no sign that the rebels would heed the cabinet's plea; as their ranks swelled to well above the critical point of 30, leaving the government's fate firmly in the hands of the minority parties. Walter Sweeney, the new MP for the Vale of Glamorgan, made plain that Mr Major's entreaty had not changed his mind: "I was very impressed,

With defeat staring him in the face, John Major's European ambitions are likely to depend more on success in Edinburgh in December than on survival in the Commons tomorrow

by the prime minister's words but they do not affect my voting intentions which are based on the wording of the treaty. I still intend to vote against the government whatever."

Throughout the day there were signs that far from faltering, the rebellion was hardening, although ministers still maintained that when they faced the enormity of what they were doing tomorrow night, some Tory MPs would pull back from the brink.

Despite the public appearance of confidence senior ministers are privately speculating on Mr Major's conduct if he loses. There is expectation that he would immediately table a vote of confidence, which he would win, and then put the Maastricht treaty legislation on ice until after the Edinburgh summit. A deal there on subsidiarity would probably lead to a fresh attempt to get the bill through in the new year.

In his room last night, shortly before he chaired the crucial cabinet meeting on public spending, Mr Major told loyalists and wavering that he needed victory on Wednesday to help him negotiate with authority at Edinburgh. Afterwards, Alan Duncan, who will be supporting the government tomorrow, said: "It was a very impressive performance which can only have helped his case." Others said: "Mr Major spoke for about 20 minutes and then answered questions. There was no hint of threats in a reasoned performance. "No one left feeling less happy about the treaty," another MP said. Those present included Peter Viggers, David Sumberg, Keith Hampshire, Angela Knight, Sir Anthony Grant.

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and letters, page 17

Irish pact close to collapse

By EDWARD GORMAN,
IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

THE two parties to the Irish coalition government look set to go their separate ways today, making a general election a virtual certainty either before Christmas or early in the new year.

This morning, the Progressive Democrats, whose leader, Des O'Malley, has been accused of lying by Albert Reynolds, the prime minister, meet to decide whether or not to attend today's cabinet meeting. If they stay away, the coalition will be finished.

The Progressive Democrats are demanding that Mr Reynolds publicly retracts his allegation that Mr O'Malley lied in evidence before a tribunal into the beef industry.

CBI urges joint effort to rebuild industry

By ROSS TIEMAN AND JILL SHERMAN

THE director-general of the Confederation of British Industry is to offer the government a new "partnership" designed to rebuild Britain's manufacturing base.

In an interview with *The Times*, Howard Davies expressed reservations about any government-inspired intervention in industry, but called on government to take more account of the impact of public sector decisions on private sector firms.

In his keynote address to the CBI's annual conference, which opens on Sunday, Mr Davies will challenge the government to prove its commitment to industry by taking on board CBI policy proposals. The CBI will unveil the fruits of an 18-month study into measures needed to revive manufacturing.

Mr Davies said that promises by John Major and Norman Lamont to maintain infrastructure spending and ensure policy to promote industry were "just about enough" to indicate a credible change of strategy after more than a decade of sometimes strained relations.

Cabinet ministers started a marathon meeting in Downing Street last night to decide on spending priorities.

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Fighting for votes: Mr Bush addressing an eve-of-poll rally in New Jersey



Rebel line-up: Mr Clinton in front of a football stadium in Ohio



Scouting for votes: Mr Perot with a group of young supporters in California

WHITE HOUSE COUNTDOWN

Last polls point to Clinton victory

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER
IN WASHINGTON

AMERICA chooses its next president today, and last-minute polls suggested that a governor from a small state who was once deemed unelectable was on the brink of a famous victory over an incumbent once thought unassailable.

As Bill Clinton and President Bush cross-crossed the country in Herculean final efforts, the surveys suggested that Mr Bush's late surge had pattered out, leaving the Arkansas governor poised to become the first Democrat to win the Oval Office since Jimmy Carter in 1976.

Three national polls gave Mr Clinton leads of between five and eight points, and state-by-state surveys underscored the bleakness of Mr Bush's position. To win he will have to carry almost every one of about 18 states that have been considered uncertain. Those states include New Jersey, Michigan and Colorado, where local polls put Mr Clinton ahead by eight points or more. Mr Bush's last real hope appeared to be the exceptional volatility of the electorate this year and the unpredictability generated by a strong third candidate.

Mr Clinton, whose stamina has outlasted his voice, embarked at dawn yesterday on a nine-state, 4,100-mile whirlwind tour of America that will end with a rally at sunrise this morning in Denver, Colorado. In a voice reduced to a croak by 13 months of relentless campaigning, he exhorted the electorate to "take your country back and reclaim your future". This was a race between hope and fear, unity and division, between whether we have the courage to change or stay with the comfort of the status quo."

Mr Bush insisted he was on course for an upset victory bigger even than Harry Truman's in 1948.

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'Don't call me First Lady' says Hillary

FROM KATE MUIR
IN WASHINGTON

IF THE polls have it right, Hillary and Bill are heading for Pennsylvania Avenue, and according to *The National Review*, a right-wing magazine, Mrs Clinton in particular is about to transform the White House. Hillary Clinton, it predicts, will define the new era by abolishing the term "First Lady", replacing it with "Presidential Partner". With Mrs Clinton as their role model, new-style Washington wives will not be stay-at-home hostesses but "lawyers or shrinks".

The magazine also foresees the rise of the *Vanity Fair* set, suggesting maliciously that Tina Brown will offer "photo approval" if Mrs Clinton agrees to pose pregnant on the cover of *The New Yorker*.

The telephone wires in Washington are humming with discreet enquiries to the Clinton entourage about jobs, property and social events. Anyone who will be anyone socially under the new regime is in Little Rock today awaiting the biggest Democratic hoo-hah of the past 12 years. The FOBS (friends of Bill's, a term coined in his Oxford days) are multiplying like bacteria.

The most unexpected people are loudly reminiscing at parties about their school/college/early activist days with Hillary or Bill. Most want to put in a bid for the 3,000 jobs in Mr Clinton's gift, and the rest are fantasising about dining at the White House. Aside from faithful aides, the first embossed invitations will go out to the big society figures who raised millions for the campaign. Septuagenarian Continued on page 10, col 8

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Thatcher tribe hopes to shuffle back from wilderness

MARGARET Thatcher left few heirs in key positions. They are mainly younger activists, new MPs and junior ministers, rather than members of the cabinet itself. They are more Thatcher's grandchildren than Thatcher's children.

One of the most frequent complaints of the Euro-sceptics is how poorly represented they are in government. They contrast a predominantly centre/left cabinet and a more centre/right parliamentary party.

This is reflected, for instance, in the centre/right majority on the executive of the 1992 committee, even though many MPs cannot easily be placed in any ideological spectrum and the pro-Europeans are in a majority.

In the current upheavals, when the Euro-sceptics are being courted, several have argued that any reshuffle should redress this imbalance.

Their immediate focus is on who might be Chancellor. Euro-sceptics

RIDDELL ON POLITICS

are divided between wanting Norman Lamont to stay, since he is sympathetic to their underlying goals, and pressing for a successor who is not a strong pro-European.

Their main concern is to block Kenneth Clarke. Their favoured candidate would be either Michael Howard or Peter Lilley, both of whom oppose sterling's re-entry into the exchange-rate mechanism. If a change is delayed for a year or more, then Michael Portillo, with Euro-sceptic credentials, could become Chancellor.

The right would like any early reshuffle to bring into the cabinet Euro-sceptics/Thatcherites such as John Redwood, the local government minister, or David Heathcoat-

Amory, the deputy chief whip. But there are relatively few ministers of state in this group. Others include Michael Forsyth, David Maclean and, more independently, Jonathan Aitken. So short of potential candidates is the right that some are even pressing for the recall of Kenneth Baker, once a prominent Heathite.

Complaints about the political balance of the government are not new. They were first heard in the mid-1980s when many of the then "wets" either joined the government or were promoted.

Members of the Blue Chip group, the set around Chris Patten, William Waldegrave and John Patten, moved up then and Richard Needham became a minister.

Tristan Garel-Jones, then a whip and one of their friends, was blamed by members of the right-of-centre '92 group as the behind-the-scenes ma-

nipulator responsible for the promotions. A less sinister explanation is that Baroness Thatcher operated a hierarchical system of promotion based on their performance in office.

She dropped prominent "wets" in her 1981 and 1983 reshuffles, and promoted their sympathisers such as Norman Tebbit, Nigel Lawson and Cecil Parkinson.

But there were few successors to them in the middle ranks of the government. By the mid-to-late 1980s most of the talent was among left-of-centre ministers such as Kenneth Clarke, Malcolm Rifkind and Chris Patten.

More Thatcherite ministers, such as Sir Rhodes Boyson, Sir John Stanley and Sir Geoffrey Partie, fell short of making the cabinet, while others who did, such as John Moore and Peter Rees, disappointed and were dropped after a few years. Consequently, her final cabinet con-

tained few close allies willing to back her in the November 1990 leadership contest. She found that most of her colleagues around the cabinet table were not "one of us".

Mr Major has not changed the political balance much. While Lady Thatcher, Lord Parkinson and Lord Waddington on the right have left the cabinet, he has promoted both Euro-sceptics such as Mr Portillo and Gillian Shephard as well as pro-Europeans like Virginia Bottomley and Mr Patten.

The result has nonetheless been to leave the Euro-sceptics with only three to four members of the cabinet and the probability that a pro-European majority will continue under either Mr Major or any likely successor.

PETER RIDDELL

PETER TREVOR

Minority party MPs prepare to deny Major their support

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE minority parties holding the key to tomorrow night's vote on Maastricht remained determined last night to oppose the government with only one exception. However, some of the 25 MPs from Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales appear open to persuasion.

All but one of Northern Ireland's 17 MPs have indicated that they will hold to their anti-Maastricht line. The nationalist parties, four Plaid Cymru MPs and three Scottish Nationalists also made clear their intention to join Labour in the division lobbies in spite of supporting the treaty.

The government can so far

count on support from only one MP from the national minority parties: Sir James Kildferder, the Ulster Popular Unionist party MP for North Down, who sits with the Tories. Doubt remains about whether ministers or whips can tempt others into the government's lobbies with promises of new jobs, contracts or grants for their areas.

The tactics of the minority parties vary. If it became a vote of confidence in the government, the 13 Unionist MPs made clear yesterday that they would vote with the Conservatives. But Ulster's four Social and Democratic Unionists and the seven nationalist MPs

would back Labour. Ulster Unionist MPs who have long campaigned against the treaty appeared determined to vote against the government. Ian Paisley and his two fellow Democratic Unionists will also oppose the government.

A decision will be taken by the nine Ulster Unionists, led by James Molyneaux, at a meeting tomorrow morning. David Trimble, Ulster Unionist MP for Upper Bann, said last night that his party had made a general election manifesto commitment to oppose the treaty. Only the threat of a general election was likely to sway the party, which he said was more opposed to Kevin McNamara, Labour's Northern Ireland spokesman, than it was to Maastricht.

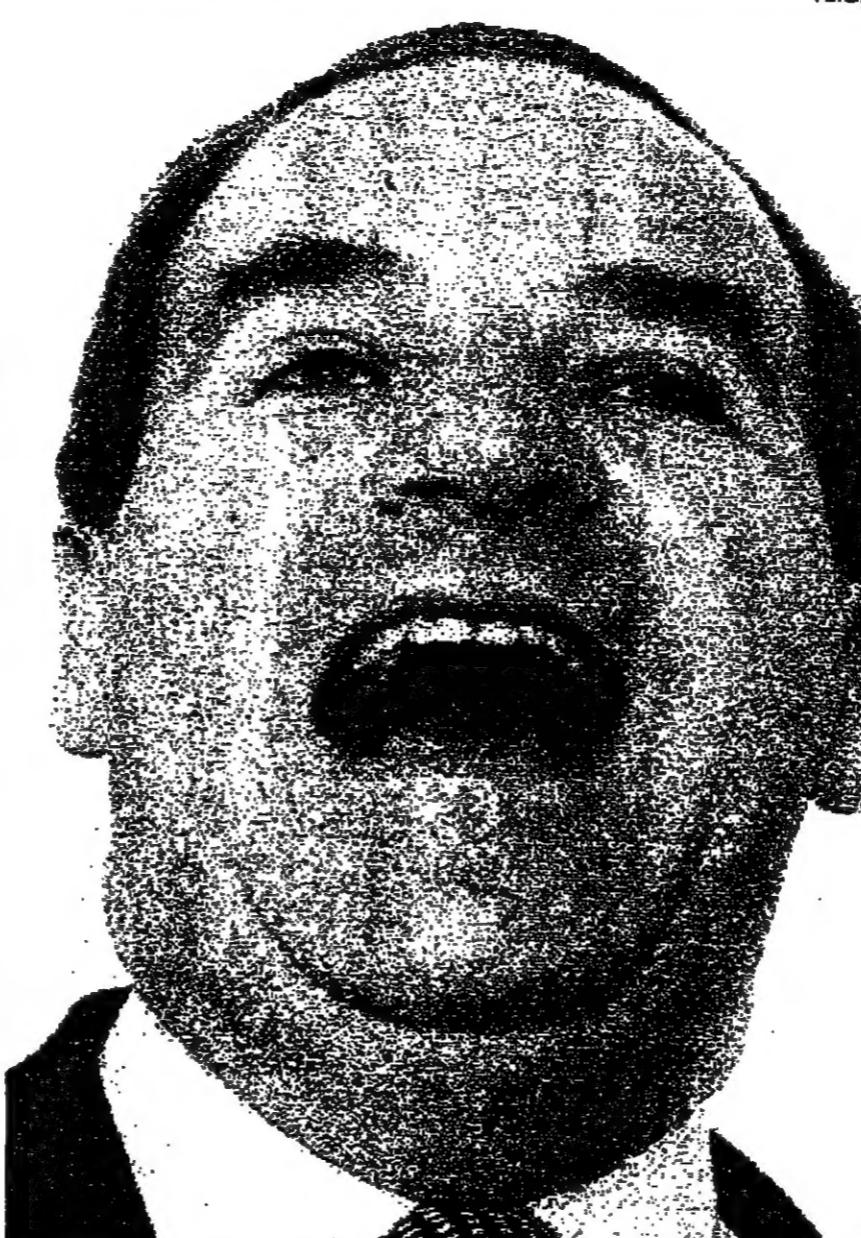
He did not expect any change in his party's voting intentions. "It's not in our interests to be seen as becoming involved in sordid deals with one side or the other."

Dafydd Wigley, one of four Plaid Cymru MPs, called for a meeting with Labour to co-ordinate the opposition parties' strategy. He said: "We will be seeking to indicate our lack of confidence in the government's handling of Maastricht by voting on whichever amendment is closest to a no-confidence vote."

The three Scottish Nationalist MPs also called on the Labour leader to meet all opposition party leaders. Margaret Ewing, the SNP parliamentary leader, told John Smith in a letter that the only prospect of defeating the government lay in uniting all the opposition parties behind an amendment that could attract support from Tory rebels and would be voted on before the government's motion. She said the Liberal Democrats might be persuaded to vote first for an opposition amendment if it did not compromise their pro-Maastricht position, but expressed a lack of confidence in the government's handling of the treaty.

Paddy Ashdown was succeeding last night in holding most Liberal Democrat MPs to his strategy of backing the government's Maastricht motion tomorrow night in spite of taunts from Labour and Tory MPs. So far only one of the 20 Liberal Democrats has broken ranks, Nick Harvey, MP for North Devon.

Sir Leon, speaking to the European Movement, also gave a warning that inward investment in Britain would suffer if the treaty was not ratified. Americans and Japanese would ask themselves: is



Speaking out: Sir Leon yesterday. He said British business needs Maastricht

Brittan says single market will collapse if treaty is not ratified

By MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

IF the Maastricht treaty is not ratified, the European Community will be unable to complete the single European market, Sir Leon Brittan, the senior British EC commissioner, said yesterday.

Pouring scorn on the argument that the EC could go ahead with the single market while rejecting Maastricht, he said this was not an option. Completing the market depended on a sense of dynamism and the way in which the legislation was implemented. If the EC came to a grinding halt after a rejection of the treaty, there would be no dynamism in interpreting the letter or spirit of the single market legislation.

Sir Leon, speaking to the European Movement, also gave a warning that inward investment in Britain would suffer if the treaty was not ratified. Americans and Japanese would ask themselves: is

Britain going ahead with its partners or holding back? Already, he said, such talk was having a damaging effect. This was why the government was rightly focusing on the treaty at a time of high unemployment: the two were inseparable.

Sir Leon called for Maastricht to be put forward on its merits, "not as an exercise in damage limitation". If parliament voted against the motion tomorrow, he predicted damage to the whole Community. Britain would bring the EC momentum to a halt, and other EC members determined to go ahead would set up alternative structures, crucial to Britain's economy and security, over which Britain would have no control — something Sir Leon called "every prime minister's nightmare".

If the bill passed, "I hope that people will applaud the

government's courage in taking such a bold course", he said. The government could then use its regained authority on subsidiarity at the Edinburgh summit, a solution to EC finances, the beginning of talks on admitting new members and a basis for a second Danish referendum.

Sir Leon accused the Labour party of throwing away for short-term gain all the credibility it had built up with its painful shift in policy on Europe. A vote against Maastricht would be a "triumph of opportunism over statesmanship". He would deeply regret it if the Labour party used procedural reasons as a pretext to defeat the government.

The government had made efforts to avoid falling out of the exchange-rate mechanism, but now it should use the devaluation to cut interest rates.

List of potential rebels tops critical 30 mark

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE potential list of Conservative Maastricht rebels rose above the critical 30 mark yesterday as ministers battled to contain the revolt.

With minority parties declaring their positions it is clear that the decisions of Tory rebels will have a decisive bearing on the outcome.

Calculations start with the 22 Conservative MPs who voted against the second reading of the Maastricht bill. Only two, Rupert Allenson and Andrew Hunter, are not now expected to rebel, and a third, Harry Greenway, may abstain rather than vote against.

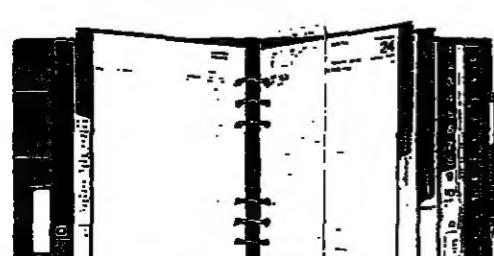
The other 19 are: Michael Spicer (Worcestershire South); James Cran (Beverley); John Butcher (Coventry South West); William Cash (Stafford); Chris Gill (Ludlow); Nicholas Winterton (Macclesfield); Ann Winterton (Congleton); Toby Jessel (Twickenham); Tony Marlow (Northampton North); Sir Teddy Taylor (Southend East); Sir Richard Body (Holland with Boston); Richard Shepherd (Aldridge-Brownhills); Teresa Gorman (Billerby); John Carlisle (Luton North); Sir Trevor Skeet (Bedfordshire

); Sir Peter Tapsell (Lindsey East); Bernard Jenkin (Colchester North); John Whittingdale (Colchester South and Maldon); Roger Moate (Faversham); Sir George Gardiner (Reigate); Sir Rhodes Boyson (Brent North); Vivian Bendall (Ilford North); and James Pawsey (Rugby and Kenilworth).

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Motley crew must build cohesive force

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE wagon trains of the backbench Tory rebellion over the Maastricht treaty were being pulled into ever tighter circles last night. As Westminster buzzed with casually figures, both real and imagined, in the crossfire with government whips, rebel leaders were meeting to plot their tactics for the Commons' vote tomorrow night, that seems likely to decide John Major's fate.

Michael Spicer, James Cran, Christopher Gill and Roger Knapp have emerged as the driving forces behind an uprising that, with Labour help, threatens Mr Major's premiership.

Despite a weekend of intense pressure by the whips, the rebels were still claiming a strength of some 50 MPs, 40 of whom were "solid" in their determination to vote against the government. This is theoretically nine more than is needed for victory.

But as Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, joined Mr Major and Michael Heseltine in the "charm offensive"

aimed at winning over wavers, rebels were aware that promises of support have a habit of melting away at the critical moment.

One rebel leader spoke of the importance of building up "corporate spirit" in the face of the establishment onslaught. They plan a meeting tonight open to all those who have indicated they are prepared to defy the whips. The challenge is to weld a motley group into a cohesive force that can withstand all the promises and threats that will be hurled at them.

Mr Major's equanimity is unlikely to be improved by claims by some ministers that Kenneth Baker, sacked after the election, has been telephoning sympathetic former colleagues and letting it be known that he is prepared to be the right-wing candidate in any ensuing leadership contest.

After the weekend wobble precipitated by the government's cleverly constructed motion for tomorrow's debate,

the rebels appeared in good heart. One of their leaders said he had been surprised how their numbers were holding up. "I would have thought it would have begun to fray at the edges, but it has not. If anything, it's got firmer."

Another rebel claimed to detect signs of desperation among the whips as they grappled with the grim arithmetic of potential defeat. Pointing to the whips' office and predicting another government U-turn, he said: "We have always said that there are more than 50 on our side. There is panic about and reality is about to break in."

In a tacit admission that they faced an uphill struggle, one whip commented that it was "too soon to tell" how the vote would break. Another of the government's Commons aides said the rebels were "hyping up" their numbers but conceded that they probably had a strength in the "high 20s".

Mr Major met a group of about 15 MPs yesterday in his

Commons room and is due to host another meeting today. Mr Hurd is to see about half a dozen wavers one by one over the next couple of days.

Mr Major's personal staff is one of many factors being weighed by wavering MPs as they seek to make up their minds. One right-winger confessed he was worried about the prospect of defeating the government and so precipitating the prime minister's resignation. "I don't like the treaty at all. But I don't want to damage in any way the position of the prime minister. If he resigns, the likelihood is that he will be replaced by someone far more pro-European such as Clarke, Heseltine or Hurd."

Another MP, who has returned to the government fold after flirting with the rebel camp, said the vote was about far more than Maastricht. "I am not in the business of knifing people in the back. There is a different agenda around now and I am not prepared to be part of that."

Major woos

the Tory waverers

Continued from page 1

Andrew Robathan, John Sykes and Charles Hendry.

The cabinet offensive had earlier been launched by Mr Heseltine and Mr Clarke. Mr Heseltine said that defeat would lead to a "policy vacuum of incalculable destructive effects". He insisted, however, that the government would not lose the vote, adding: "I think we are going to win because people are listening to the arguments, there is intense discussion going on. People faced now with the clarity of what is happening are actually moving back to support John Major and the government."

"Maastricht is at the centre of restoring confidence to this country's trading economy. Our opponents in France, Germany and Italy — who are competing with us in the sense of looking for opportunities for investment in their own country — will tell the Americans, the Japanese, the Koreans and all these countries we want to get investment from, that Britain has marginalised itself."

Mr Clarke also predicted that the government would win, saying defeat "would leave us frozen in the ice unable to move for some period".

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Cut and thrust of debate murders the English language

MATTHEW PARRIS

POLITICAL SKETCH

Peter Lilley, the fresh-faced secretary of state once identified by Gallup as the least-recognised Cabinet minister in modern history, and an unlikely axeman, swing back with excitable language about Labour "wiping out" the life savings of pensioners, then yielded to the inoffensive-looking Charles Hendry (C. High Peak).

Unfortunately Madam Speaker forgot his name and called him "Mr Banks". The real Mr Banks, the Tory MP for Southport, had warned us in his maiden speech last week that he and Hendry were both "on the chubby side" and nobody could tell them apart.

Hendry, distressed that fellow MPs could not remember his face but determined that they would remember his metaphor, found (in something or other) "a cast iron demonstration" of the government's largesse. Lilley thanked him, remarked that nobody could remember who he was, either, and added that at least he had never been confused with a socialist. He meant Tony Banks (Lab, Newham North-West). Clearly he was unaware of the existence of Southport's Mr Matthew Banks...

Are we clear so far reader? Madam Speaker has forgotten who Mr Hendry is and Mr Lilley, whom the public have never been able to remember, has forgotten who Mr Banks is. Beside Mr Hendry is sitting Mr Lilley, whom Madam Speaker confuses with Mr Evans, who is sitting in front of Mr Hendry. Lilley (David) and Evans (Nigel) have crinkly black hair, pointed chins and twinkling little smiles. Hendry (Charles) and Banks (Matthew) have bland, genial faces and chubby bodies.

And now rises Labour's Donald Dewar, who sneers at Lilley for his anonymity and offers advice on how to stay as unknown as he is.

Lilley hits back. "Talk about anonymity comes a bit rich from the hon gentleman, whose only claim to fame is that he is less well known than I am," Dewar seethes. Madam Speaker consults her books of photographs, lest she forget another name...

And we, readers, must leave them. Outside it is drizzling. Within, the lights are bright, temps hot and the prose blazing. As MPs move, firing on all metaphors, to a discussion on "amending the income support regulations to extend entitlement to the severe disability premium to claimants living with non-dependents" (question 9), the parliamentary clerks sit snoring, the English language lies bleeding, and we tiptoe quietly away.

Germany may rejoin EFA project

By MICHAEL EVANS
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

GERMANY appears to have taken the first step towards returning as a full partner in the four-nation European Fighter Aircraft programme, following a study which outlined ways of reducing costs by up to 30 per cent.

British industry officials believe there is now "a detectable change of mood" in Germany, although a formal statement from Bonn yesterday gave little hint of a switch in policy. Responding to German press reports that the government was now willing to accept a lower-budget EFA and would not try to convince its partners to give up the programme, Bonn said it was striving for agreement with Britain, Italy and Spain to develop a cheaper version of the aircraft and hoped to bring in other countries to share the cost.

Sex attacker accused of faking insanity to avoid jail sentence

BY BILL FROST

A CONVICTED sex attacker fooled eight psychiatrists into thinking he was mentally ill so he would be sent to hospital rather than given a long jail sentence, a jury at the Old Bailey was told yesterday.

Winston Thomas claimed he had a history of psychiatric illness and that he had received treatment in Jamaica. He said he could not resist the voice of a boyhood friend called Delroy, who had drowned, and claimed to believe that the television and



Thomas: claimed radio sent him messages

WPC Aldous: sent as bait to trap Thomas

Court bans publicity on 'divorce' girl

BY TIM JONES

THE High Court yesterday made an order forbidding a girl aged 14 who is effectively seeking to "divorce" her parents from being identified for four years until she reaches the age of majority.

As first reported in *The Times*, the girl has instructed lawyers to seek a court order so that she could legally separate from her parents and live elsewhere. The girl, described as mature and sensible, has chosen to live with the family of her boy friend where she is regarded as a friend of the family. She is said to have a clear idea of what she wants to do and is planning eventually to go to university.

It is understood the girl instigated the proceedings because of the prospect of the return of her father, who is divorced from her mother, to the family home. Her relationship with her father has not good and the prospect of his return caused her to begin what is thought to be the first case of its kind in Britain.

The case follows the action in the United States where Gregory Kingsley, aged 12, secured a "divorce" from his parents so that he could be adopted by his foster parents.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Scott-Baker, sitting in the family division, approved a detailed order designed to protect the girl from being identified in any way.

However, after hearing arguments from barristers representing the girl, the *Daily Mail* and of the Official Solicitor, the judge made an order which did not appear to prohibit the natural parents of the girl, with whom she does not live, from being approached. Lawyers were unclear whether to do so would be a breach of the order, which was written in such a way as to cause some confusion.

On Monday, the judge had made an order forbidding the natural parents from communicating about their daughter to any newspaper or television company. He had also barred media representatives from approaching within 100 yards of the address in Surrey where the girl now lives.

A full hearing with all parties represented, including the parents, the woman with whom the girl is now living and the girl, is scheduled for November 13, in Chambers. The action is being taken under the Children Act, 1989.

Aftermath: firemen carry furniture from the house

History 'up in smoke'

LADY du Cann has vowed that Athelhampton Hall in Dorset, badly damaged by fire yesterday morning, will reopen to the public again next year. In tears as she surveyed the damage to the Tudor house, she said: "It is terribly distressing to watch hundreds of years of history going up in smoke. How can you put a value on something like that?"

More than 80 firemen in 15 vehicles went to the blaze, which is believed to have started in the east wing of the house owned by Lady du Cann, wife of Sir Edward du Cann, former chairman of Lourho and of the Conservative party. Two thirds of the rooms have been destroyed, including three main bedrooms, a dining room and the

green parlour. Local people worked in driving rain to help firemen to rescue valuable and antiques, but the operation had to be abandoned when flames began falling from the burning roof and many of the contents are feared lost. The fire, fanned by strong winds, took five hours to bring under control. Part of the roof was reported to have collapsed and four firemen were taken to hospital after being hit by falling beams.

The fire is believed to have started when a curtain ignited after being left too close to an electric light bulb. Athelhampton is managed for Lady du Cann by her son, Patrick Cooke, and is open to the public for part of the year; it closed for the season last Wednesday.

radio were sending him special messages. All the claims were lies, Anthony Longden, for the prosecution, told the jury.

Thomas, 47, was never treated for mental illness in Jamaica and Delroy — "the voice from the grave" — was alive and well, Mr Longden said.

Thomas denies attempting to pervert the course of justice. He was originally charged after he was arrested for carrying out a string of sex

offences and robberies in north London in 1989. He was finally caught when he attacked WPC Veneta Aldous, who had been set up as bait after he raped two women.

Mr Longden said the present charge related to lies Thomas told during assessment interviews with psychiatrists, which were aimed at making sure he was sentenced under the Mental Health Act rather than jailed.

The doctors duped by Thomas included a psychiatrist based at Brixton prison, south London. Thomas, Mr Longden said, was arrested in 1989 for attacks on six women and remanded to Brixton's hospital wing — giving him "ample opportunity to see the behaviour of people who were genuinely disturbed". He copied symptoms, shook during interviews with the doctors, and "consistently lied".

Once he reached Rampton Hospital his symptoms of schizophrenia disappeared. Last year Thomas told a mental health review tribunal he was not mentally ill and never had been. He admitted lying to the doctors. The tribunal discharged him, said Mr Longden.

Thomas, of Wood Green, north London, was arrested in January 1989. In June he admitted two rapes, two robberies and three assaults involving a total of six women. Before he was sentenced, he was remanded for psychiatric reports and seen by a number of doctors. They variously concluded that he was schizophrenic or suffering from a psychotic illness which could be drink or drug-induced.

When he had been sentenced at the Old Bailey, a senior judge said: "I have no hesitation in accepting medical evidence that you were mentally ill when you committed these offences and are still mentally ill and represent a great danger to the public." The trial continues.

Russians win travel right in UK

BY MICHAEL BINION
DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

NO LONGER will the men from MI5 peer up from their newspapers at the Slavic figures posing as unlikely tourists in Portsmouth or Cheltenham. No more will unmarked Vauxhalls wait in lay-bys 25 miles from Hyde Park Corner for Soviet embassy cars sneaking out beyond the limits.

From today, Russians are free to come and go as they please in Britain for the first time in 40 years. The Foreign Office yesterday announced that travel restrictions, imposed at the height of the Cold war, have been abolished.

Russians are no longer restricted to the centre of London, nor do they need to apply for travel permission two days before an intended journey. They can take a train straight to GCHQ, Fylingdales or Holy Loch and all they need is the fare.

Britons in Russia are luckier. Closed zones and travel restrictions were abolished on October 19. Huge visas are suddenly opened to diplomats, journalists and businessmen — an area once covering half the Soviet Union is open to prying foreign eyes. Future Sakharovs cannot be safely sent into exile in Gorod, 250 miles from Moscow — the industrial town has reverted to its old name, Nizhni Novgorod, and welcomes foreigners and their dollars.

Stalin imposed formal travel restrictions in 1941, ostensibly for military security. All border areas, centres of heavy industry and areas of ethnic unrest were closed. Britain took 11 years before applying tit-for-tat rules.

These were enforced with varying zeal, depending on the state of Anglo-Soviet relations. Unlike America, no part of Britain was formally closed, in spite of Soviet complaints that naval attacks were inexplicably unable to take a family picnic at Holy Loch, and "journalists" could not gather news on Salisbury Plain.

The Foreign Office dropped repeated hints that the ban would be lifted when Russia did the same. Other parts of the former Soviet Union responded quickly — Ukraine and the Baltics have dropped the ban — but Russia took its time: the foreign ministry press department is one of the last outposts of bureaucratic obstructionism.



Stooping to conquer: Michael Grade lights his trademark cigar from one of ten candles on a gigantic birthday cake yesterday

Channel 4 celebrates 10 years of something for everyone

MICHAEL Grade said he preferred to look to the next ten years of Channel 4 rather than dwell on past achievements as he celebrated the channel's tenth anniversary yesterday (Melinda Wittstock writes).

The flamboyant chief executive is now almost as closely identified with Channel 4 as the multicoloured 4 that first fragmented on air into *Brookside*, *Countdown* and *Walter*. Stephen Frear's wintery tale about a mentally handicapped man.

Viewed as the last great act of altruism in British television, Channel 4 was set up not to make money but to make "innovative and experimental" programmes that appealed to "tastes and interests not generally catered for by ITV". But a lot has changed since Tory MPs demanded the closure of the channel by Christmas 1982 after it revealed plans to show a programme called *One In Five* about gays and lesbians.

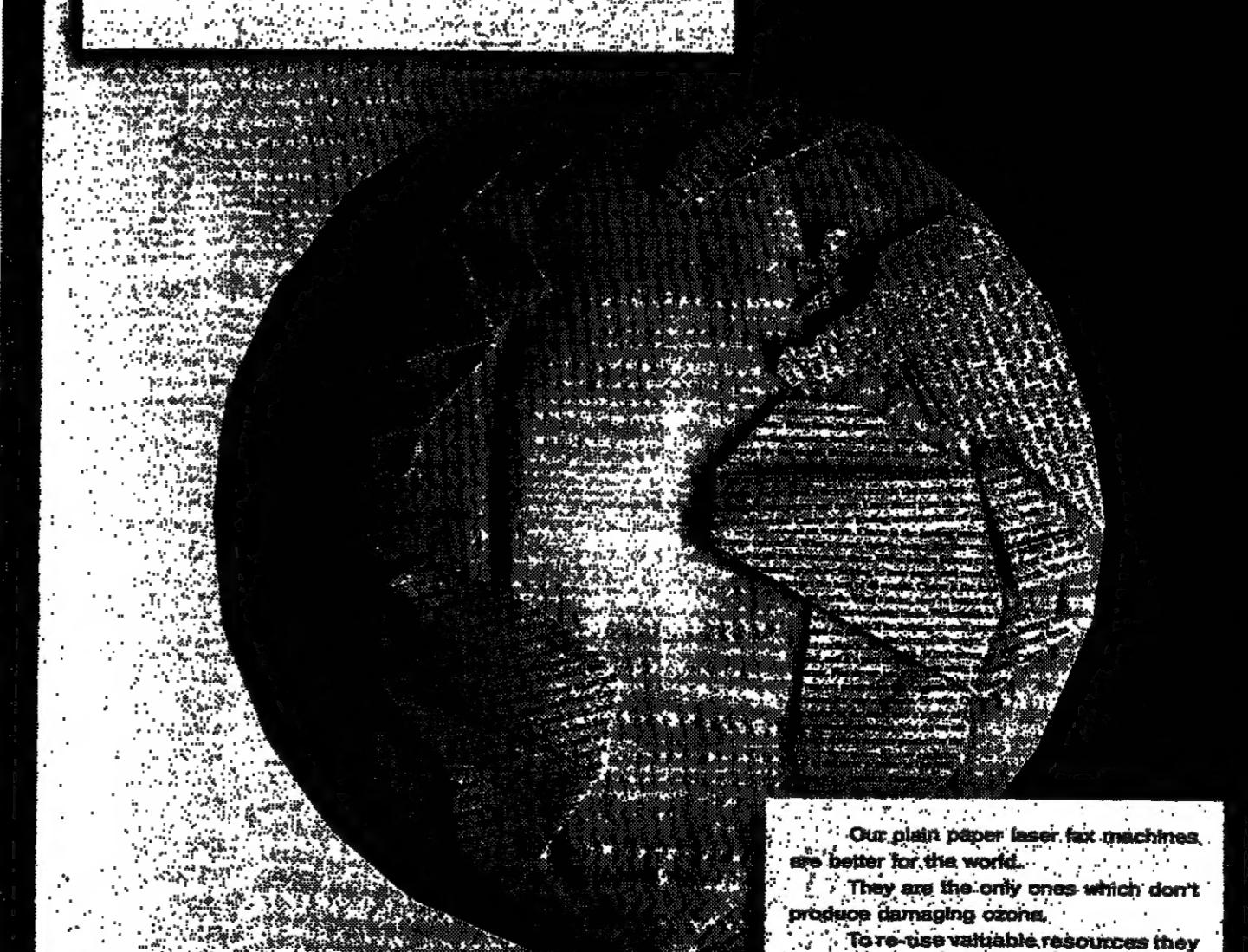
Today Channel 4, having won the

Tories' respect for encouraging enterprise culture through the independent production sector which serves it, has a solid 10.5 per cent audience share. But tension between commercial demands and fulfilment of its minority remit has increased, particularly as the channel gears up to sell its own advertising airtime from January 1 in competition with ITV.

Mr Grade has been attacked in the past two years for "selling out" by relying too much on bought-in Ameri-

can series such as *Cheers* and *Roseanne* to boost ratings. But he believes Channel 4 is every bit as unique as it was under his predecessor, Jeremy Isaacs, who left for the Royal Opera House in 1987. While full of praise for what he called Mr Isaacs' "vision", Mr Grade argues that programmes such as *Cheers* or repeats of *Inspector Morse* make the channel's more esoteric output possible by guaranteeing audiences big enough to attract advertisers.

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GT 1992

Sealed-in scientists need breath of fresh air in their imperfect world

■ The possibility of man colonising other planets has moved further into the future with the setbacks to a sealed mini-world in the Arizona desert

By NIGEL HAWKES
SCIENCE EDITOR

HALFWAY through their two-year mission to create a sealed world in the Arizona desert, the eight men and women inside Biosphere 2 face growing problems. Two are now breathing pure oxygen at night to offset the potentially dangerous deterioration in air quality inside the three-acre greenhouse.

Dr Roy Walford, the crew's physician, and Jane Poynter, an English-born inmate have both had trouble sleeping and feel constantly tired, which are symptoms of oxygen deficiency.

The air inside Biosphere 2 is now so thin that it is equivalent to that found at a height of 11,500ft. Yesterday morning, flexible tubing and nasal tubes were passed inside so that other crew members can take a whiff of oxygen if they need it. Oxygen levels have fallen steadily since the structure was sealed in September 1991, despite

the claim that the complex would be self-sustaining. Drugs for altitude sickness have now been passed through Biosphere 2's airlock to help the crew.

The Biospherians' oxygen problem is the latest in a series of setbacks to hit the \$150 million experiment, funded by Ed Bass, a Texas billionaire. The idea was to create a world in miniature as a model for future space settlements.

However, Walter Adey, director of the marine systems laboratory at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, who was involved in the design of the ocean and marsh inside Biosphere 2, resigned in September 1990, complaining that the project was more to do with tourism than science.

Recent visitors say the ocean has turned a sludge green, though Space Biospheres Ventures, the group responsible for Biosphere 2, claim that this is evidence of its high productivity. There

have been other problems, including the admission that a large volume of extra air had been added last December, without any public acknowledgement.

Now, just over a year after the doors were sealed, some 15 to 30 per cent of the original 3,800 species of plants and animals have



Glasshouse goes wrong: healthy Biospherians at the start of the experiment

died. The bees and hummingbirds needed to pollinate the plants have disappeared and the crew has lost weight after a poor harvest. SBV said falling oxygen levels provided an opportunity for serious science, and was monitoring them carefully to make sure they did not fall below 13.6 per cent, the level at which

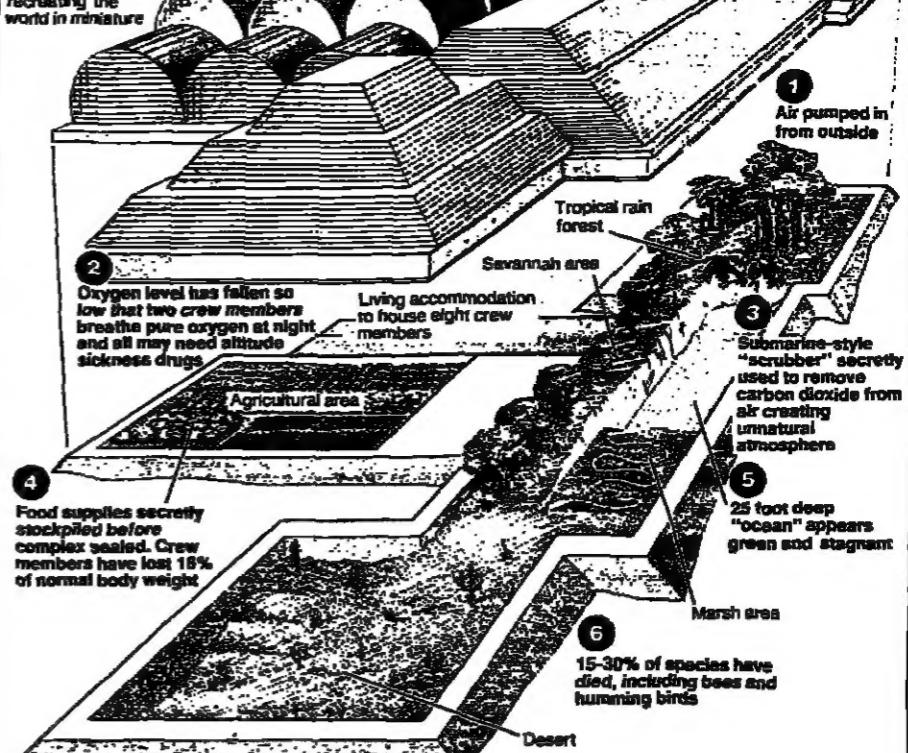
humans risked brain damage or strokes.

The crew is unmoved by the fuss. "So many people were saying that we would be out right after Christmas, and I don't think we will come out until we're supposed to," crew member Linda Leigh said recently by telephone.

BIOSPHERE 2: THE END OF THEIR WORLD?

Why the eco-system experiment in Arizona is failing apart

The 3-acre project recreating the world in miniature



Knifeman killed sergeant and stabbed PCs, court told

By STEWART TENDER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

A BURGLAR prepared to kill anyone who got in his way stabbed a London police sergeant to death, murdered two householders in their homes and seriously wounded two other officers in a catalogue of crime last autumn, the Old Bailey was told yesterday.

Nicholas Vernage, of no fixed address, denies murdering Sgt Alan King on November 28 last year and attempting to murder PCs Simon Castrey and John Jenkinson the following day. He also denies murdering Lorna Bogle, who was stabbed at her home in Walthamstow, east London, on November 21, and killing Javid Iqbal at his home in Leytonstone, east London, on November 24. Mr Vernage has also denied two other burglaries on October 28 and November 14. Peter Grenfell, 29, of Leyton,



Sgt King tried to crawl to safety

east London, denies murdering Sgt King and attempting to murder the two constables.

Opening the prosecution case yesterday, John Nutting QC told the court: "Vernage murdered or was prepared to murder anyone, householder

or policeman, who got in his way." Mr Nutting said that Mr Grenfell told detectives Mr Vernage had boasted: "All I want is to kill a copper." He wanted to "have a war" with the police and said: "Whichever officer gets in my way, they are getting it. I will put them to sleep."

The next day, Mr Vernage and Mr Grenfell were approached by officers in Thornton Heath. Mr Vernage drew a knife from his back pocket and stabbed PC Jenkinson in the neck. Mr Grenfell immediately ran off. PC Castrey went to follow Mr Grenfell but realised that Mr Vernage was continuing to stab PC Jenkinson. PC Castrey drew his truncheon and came at Mr Vernage, the court heard.

As the policeman reached a passing car, Mr Vernage caught up with him and

plunged the knife into his body again, Mr Nutting said. The motorist drove the dying officer to a nearby police station. Sgt King had four stab wounds in his head and neck and four in his chest, which had ruptured his spleen and liver and punctured his heart.

The next day, Mr Vernage and Mr Grenfell were approached by officers in Thornton Heath. Mr Vernage drew a knife from his back pocket and stabbed PC Jenkinson in the neck. Mr Grenfell immediately ran off. PC Castrey went to follow Mr Grenfell but realised that Mr Vernage was continuing to stab PC Jenkinson. PC Castrey drew his truncheon and came at Mr Vernage, the court heard.

Mr Nutting said Mr Vernage had then stabbed PC Castrey. Mr Vernage tried to get the keys to his car from PC Jenkinson, but the policeman held on to them and Mr Vernage fled. He was tracked down to the back garden of a house with the knife in his hand. The lock knife, the court was told, was almost certainly the one used to kill Sgt King and was probably used to murder Miss Vogle and Mr Iqbal.

Lord Mackay told the Law Society conference in Birmingham two weeks ago that he wanted to see a "wider use of mediation which avoids at least some of the disputes that are now settled through matrimonial legal aid". He said that there should be incentives to encourage mediation by the Law Commission.

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Mr Vernage had stabbed Miss Vogle, whom he knew, 21 times and stole property from her flat, it was alleged. Mr Nutting said a neighbour of Miss Vogle heard a noise and looked through her letter box. She was on the ground with a man crouching over her. Asked if it was all right, Miss Vogle, at the man's insistence, said it was a tiff.

Miss Vogle had been stabbed in the chest and back. Mr Iqbal was stabbed in the heart. His body was found outside his back door. The trial continues tomorrow.

Other ways of giving mediation a bigger role in the divorce process would attract greater support. One would involve a new power for courts to adjourn proceedings so that couples could take part in mediation voluntarily.

Warm homes give elderly little protection against hypothermia

By JEREMY LAURANCE, HEALTH SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

WARM homes do not protect old people from becoming severely chilled and developing hypothermia, according to research that undermines the conventional view about the causes of the condition.

Preliminary findings from a survey of 900 old people show that almost one in ten is at risk of hypothermia but living in a warm home provides little defence against it. People with central heating are at equal risk of becoming severely chilled as those living in poorer, colder housing on welfare benefits.

The survey, by the Age Concern Institute of Gerontology, suggests that 750,000 people in Britain may be at risk of hypothermia, defined as a deep body temperature of 35.5C or below. (normal temperature is 37C). The proportion at risk was "very similar"

to that found in a survey 20 years ago in spite of improvements in living conditions, according to Ann Savage, who conducted the research.

The results show that it is not easy to identify the groups at particular risk," she said. "It is not the oldest or the thinnest or the poorest. The explanation of hypothermia is not totally straightforward."

Dr Ken Collins, consultant in geriatric medicine at St Pancras Hospital, London, said the causes were mainly physiological and affected rich and poor alike. "A lot of it is due to the general rundown in all bodily systems with advancing age, which shows itself in a lower body temperature."

Between 40,000 and 80,000 extra deaths occur in winter and the high mortality has prompted campaigns for

extra heating allowances and better insulated homes. Most of the ill-effects caused by the cold are the result of exposure outside the home. Many elderly people succumb when they experience a blast of icy air, which exacerbates heart and respiratory problems.

"When a very cold wind blows on the face it sets off a series of reflexes which can lead to collapse and death in an old person," Dr Collins said.

The Age Concern survey, to be published next February, found that most old people feel uncomfortable cold, which could make them more prone to illness. Almost a quarter said they had stopped buying basic necessities like food to pay fuel bills and nearly two thirds said that if they had an extra £10 a week they would spend some or all of it on extra heating.

Miss Vogle had been stabbed in the chest and back. Mr Iqbal was stabbed in the heart. His body was found outside his back door. The trial continues tomorrow.

Court clears Greenpeace activists

TWENTY-TWO Greenpeace activists who staged a commando-style raid to block toxic discharges into the sea from a chemical plant at Whitehaven in Cumbria were cleared of criminal damage yesterday after the prosecution offered no evidence.

At Carlisle Crown Court Judge Alair Bell awarded the defendants — 16 men and six women — legal costs likely to exceed £100,000.

The trial, scheduled to last three weeks, ended on the first day after Anthony Morris QC, prosecuting, said internal documents recently released to the Crown Prosecution Service by Albright & Wilson, detergent makers, left doubt as to whether the raid on September 11 last year had damaged a company pipeline.

The firm has spent £2.6 million building a waste treatment plant since the raid. All the defendants denied criminal damage.

Britain tries to delay animal test ban

By NICK NUTTALL, TECHNOLOGY CORRESPONDENT

BRITAIN is expected to force a compromise today over proposals to ban cosmetics that have been tested on animals.

Under plans agreed by the European Commission and parliament in June, new creams, toothpastes and other similar products that have been tested on animals will be outlawed in 1998.

To get agreement among member states, Britain, which has the EC presidency, is expected to support the ban provided that alternative forms of testing can be found. When ministers vote in Brussels, Britain will propose delaying the ban pending the results of a study.

Dr Tony Suckling, the RSPCA's director of scientific affairs, said he feared that the study would be biased in favour of industry, ruining the chances of the ban coming into force.

The firm has spent £2.6 million building a waste treatment plant since the raid. All the defendants denied criminal damage.

ics-related experiments were carried out on 3,082 animals — mainly mice, rats and guinea pigs, the latest Home Office figures show. The level has declined sharply since 1987 when over 12,000 experiments were carried out.

Animal welfare groups believe that banning the testing of cosmetics on animals will have wider implications, putting pressure on drug and chemical companies to find alternatives to animal tests more quickly.

Last year, the number of animal experiments rose for the first time in 15 years, to 3,242,449. Some of the increase was due to more research on bovine spongiform encephalopathy, the mad-cow disease, and experiments in which genetically modified animals were bred for research into medicinal proteins and inherited diseases.

Groups such as the Fund Replacement of Animals in Medical Experiments (FRAME) are concerned that there has

also been a rise in some areas of toxicity testing, including testing on chemicals and household products.

Julia Penton, of FRAME, said: "Toxicity testing uses large numbers of animals ... just because they are available and have been used historically." She said that developments were emerging which, with the support of industry, could cut the 500,000-plus animals used.

One such development being researched at Leeds University is a computer programme that will identify potentially hazardous drugs before they reach the animal testing stage.

Barbara Davies of the Research Defence Society in London said that such techniques would cut the number of animal experiments only slightly in the short term. "You can use computers and tissue cultures as an initial screen but ultimately ... there is no substitute for a whole living animal," she said.

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Aristocrats fight to limit sale of leases under housing bill

By RACHEL KELLY, PROPERTY CORRESPONDENT

THE country's most powerful landlords, including the Duke of Westminster and the Earl of Cadogan, are fighting to limit proposals to allow leaseholders to gain their freehold in the housing and urban development bill which has its second reading today.

Up to 750,000 long-leaseholders of flats would gain the right to buy their freehold from the landlords if the bill becomes law. The aristocratic estates would not suffer financially in the short-term, as leaseholders would have to pay a market price for their freeholds, but they do stand to

lose income over the long-term. While leaseholders argue that the bill does not go far enough, freeholders such as the Cadogan estate and the Grosvenor estate hope to see amendments at the committee stage of the bill to nearer some of its effects.

In particular, freeholders wish to introduce the principle that, at a quailty, leaseholders must be living in homes that are their main or sole residence. The bill as it stands would affect owners of any leasehold flats, including companies, foreign residents and investors. Leaseholders have

employed at least two parliamentary lobbying firms. Leaseholder campaigners described their tactics as "bullying". Joan South, of the Leasehold Enfranchisement Association, said: "We've been quite shocked by their tactics. These lobbyists are high-powered professionals, working in the greatest secrecy, paid to pick off MPs one by one. We are up against the most invidious power."

Organisations such as the Leasehold Enfranchisement Association and the Commonhold Flats Campaign are unpaid and run by householders combining their work with their campaign for leasehold reform, Ms South said.

A spokeswoman for the Grosvenor estate said the estate had retained lobbyists only for the past couple of months and their use had been played up a lot.

Leaseholders have also been hoping for amendments at committee stage, to close loopholes that they say will stop thousands of long-leaseholders from gaining their freeholds if landlords manipulate leases to prevent them from buying the freehold of their block. The low ground rent rule states that leases must be for over 20 years and a low ground rent must apply. That is defined as being less than two-thirds of the rateable value at the time the lease was granted, or £1,000 in London and £250 elsewhere if it was granted after April 1990.

At least 90 per cent of the block must be residential, 67 per cent of all the flats must be eligible and 67 per cent of owners eligible must want to buy. It would be possible for landlords to frustrate the legislation, says Ms South. In a block of ten flats, for instance, landlords would need to ensure that only four flats did not qualify. "They can do this by repurchasing flats and granting long leases where the ground rent is over the eligibility level," Ms South said.

Heritage appeals for Stonehenge sponsor

By JOHN YOUNG

ENGLISH Heritage is to seek commercial partners to help to fund the preservation and public display of some of Britain's most famous historic buildings and ancient monuments.

The move follows a plan published last week which envisages the transfer of up to 200 properties in English Heritage's care to private or local authority management.

Among the projects for which commercial sponsorship will be sought is a £10 million scheme for improving the approaches to Stonehenge, including the closure of the road which runs past the site and the provision of a new visitor centre.

The scheme, promoted jointly by English Heritage and the National Trust, goes to a public enquiry early next year after opposition from Salisbury District Council.

The first such partnership is already in place in the cliffs below Dover Castle where British Telecom has paid for the recreation of the wartime

telephone exchange, known as Hellfire Corner.

Roy Swanson, English Heritage's director of properties in care, said that other suitable candidates included Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, Kenwood in northwest London, Audley End, Essex, Lindisfarne Priory, Northumberland, Carlisle Castle in Cumbria and Pendennis Castle, Cornwall.

Jennifer Page, English Heritage's chief executive, said

that much unnecessary alarm had been spread by suggestions that it planned not only to sell the family silver but to dispose of the vaults as well.

There was no question of selling outstanding properties that were owned or in the care of the nation.

But there were many small and fairly obscure buildings and monuments which were of no great national interest and which would be more appropriately looked after by local authorities or trusts, she added.



Body beautiful: the millionaire model Cindy Crawford, 26, who launched her fitness video in London yesterday, says she is considering an acting career

Colonel's widow attacks Civvies

THE widow of Colonel H Jones, commander of 2 Para during the Falklands war, yesterday criticised BBC television's Civvies programme as being "a fairy story completely removed from reality".

Sara Jones, speaking in Southampton at the launch of the Royal British Legion's poppy appeal, said she wanted

to send a message of support to servicemen who would be leaving the services under the government's Options for Change programme. "I would appeal to future employers to take Civvies with a pinch of salt," she said.

The people you see on your television screens bear little relationship at all with the

people I have known and respected. I suggest you treat the programme as a fairy story completely removed from reality.

Mrs Jones added: "I appeal to employers to look on our ex-service people and see in them the opportunity for the loyal, dedicated, hard-working men and women that they are."

Jail terms trebled on death crash drivers

Two motorists involved in a high-speed death crash after antagonising each other with aggressive driving had their jail sentences trebled by the Court of Appeal yesterday. Garry Godden, 23, of Ashford, Kent, and Steven Boosey, 21, of Laindon, Essex, drove at up to 70mph along a 40mph dual carriageway on the A28 Canterbury Road near Westgate on Sea, Kent, Lord Taylor of Gosforth, the Lord Chief Justice, said.

Boosey lost control of his car trying to overtake Godden's vehicle. It ended up in the opposite carriageway and Boosey's passenger was killed. Godden, who denied causing death by reckless driving, was jailed for six months on September 4, and Boosey, who pleaded guilty to the offence, was jailed for four months. The sentences were increased yesterday to 18 months and 12 months.

Rushdie bounty upped

The bounty offered for the life of Salman Rushdie has been increased to more than \$2 million (£1.3 million), according to a Tehran newspaper. *Jomhoori Islami* reported that the private Foundation of 15th Khordad had increased the reward after a visit that the novelist paid to Germany last week when he urged the Bonn government to use its economic might to pressure Iran into lifting the *fatwa*. The move will strain relations with London further after a series of tit-for-tat expulsions of diplomats in the summer.

Parents accuse MoD

The parents of a teenage Royal Marine who died after a pub party where recruits celebrated winning their green berets are claiming compensation from the Ministry of Defence. Ian Mallard, 17, died of acute alcohol poisoning and inhaling his own vomit. Malcolm and Susan Mallard, from Chester, claim the ministry did not look after him properly. The results of a military investigation have been sent to the ministry, said Colonel Mike Taffinder, of the Commando Training Centre, Lympstone, Devon, where Ian trained.

Prince backs fund

The Prince of Wales is supporting an appeal to raise £1 million to buy food, medicine, clothing and shelter for the victims of President Saddam Hussein's regime in southeast Iraq. In the foreword to a book published yesterday to launch the Amal appeal for the marshland people, he said: "The lives of over half a million people, victims of an inhuman policy of cultural genocide, are at risk." The appeal is named after a boy aged 10, orphaned by bombing in the marshlands who had plastic surgery at Guy's Hospital.

Briton pleads guilty

A British man pleaded guilty in a Thai court on Monday to charges of heroin trafficking, saying he had given up hope of proving he was set up by drug smugglers. "The heroin was in my possession and I cannot prove that it was not mine," said Peter Heather, 26, from Stoke-on-Trent, who was arrested in Bangkok on January 25 in possession of a package containing 14oz of heroin. He faces a maximum penalty of 25 years in prison under Thailand's strict anti-drug laws. He is due to be sentenced on Thursday.



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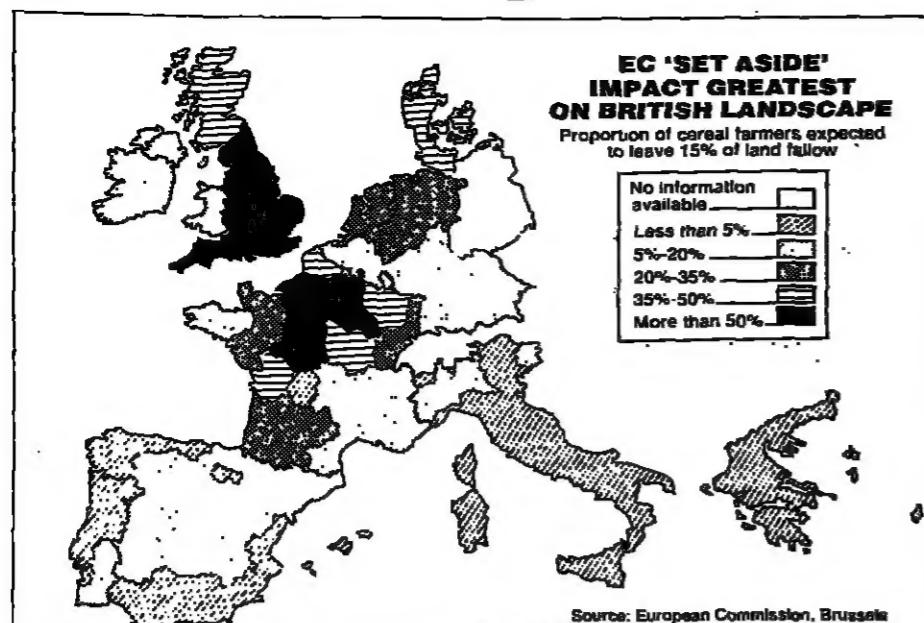
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EC farming reforms will give Britain an abrupt change of scenery



BY MICHAEL HORNSEY
AGRICULTURE
CORRESPONDENT

THE British countryside is about to undergo the biggest and most abrupt change since the second world war when millions of acres of grassland, parks and golf courses were ploughed up to boost supplies of home-grown food.

Great chunks of British farmland, together equal to about a third of the size of Wales, are expected to lie fallow over the next three years under the set-aside provisions of the reform of the European Community's common agricultural policy agreed in May.

Under the scheme, intended to shrink the EC's 30 million tonne mountain of surplus grain, British farmers will be eligible for grants of up to £88 an acre if they grow no more than 15 per cent of their land,

■ Britain's contribution to reducing the EC's grain mountain is expected to surpass that of any other state and cost taxpayers £130 million next year

The impact will be bigger in Britain than anywhere else in the Community, according to an assessment by the European Commission in Brussels.

About 49,000 — or 54 per cent of Britain's 90,000 cereal farmers are expected to apply for the set-aside grants, compared with no more than 11 per cent of grain growers in the EC as a whole. Only in the cereal-growing plains of central and northern France will the impact be comparable.

Britain, though containing barely a tenth of the cereal acreage in the EC, will account for 1.58 million — nearly one

out of every five — of the 8.27 million acres that farmers in the Community are expected to leave fallow.

Brussels estimates that 16.5 per cent of cereal land in the UK will come out of production, the biggest proportion in the Community. The EC average is put at 9.4 per cent. Yet Britain accounted for only 0.5 per cent of the 10 million tonne increase last year in the EC's cereal crop.

Greece, responsible for a third of the increase, is expected to set aside only 1.8 per cent of its cereal acreage, and Portugal, which contributed a

quarter of the rise, no more than 3.9 per cent.

Peter Johnson, chief executive of Booker Countryside, which manages 45,000 acres of farmland in southern and eastern England, said: "It's a bloody joke. The countries which will be setting aside least are precisely the ones who are expanding their acreage, those well known world competitive cereal producers of Greece and Portugal."

The reason for this is that farmers producing less than 92 tonnes are exempt from set-aside requirements and Britain has the smallest proportion falling below that threshold. So British farming will be penalised for being better structured than that of other Community members.

For farmers above the threshold, set-aside is compulsory if they want compensation payments for the 29 per

cent cut in their guaranteed prices that is being phased in over three years as part of the reform. Few if any are expected to find it more profitable to keep all land in production and forgo the compensation.

The environmental benefits of set-aside, which is expected to cost the taxpayer more than £130 million in Britain next year, are questionable. Set-aside land will have to be rotated round the farm, to prevent farmers keeping only their least productive acres idle, and so will be useless for long-term landscape improvement such as tree planting.

Rotational fallow could have provided a new habitat for birds that build their nests in stubble or rough grass in the early summer, but farmers will be allowed to start cultivating fallow land as early as May 1 in preparation for replanting in the autumn.

IRA shooting spree raises fear of Belfast gang war

BY EDWARD GORMAN, IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

THE MP for West Belfast said yesterday that his constituency could see an explosion of inter-factional republican violence after an onslaught by the IRA on a rival group at the weekend.

Joe Hendron, who took the seat for the SDLP from Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, at the last election, said that rivalry between the small Irish People's Liberation Organisation (IPLO) and the IRA had the potential to become much worse.

"You have to remember with the IPLO, they know who the Provos are and they know who the senior Sinn Fein people are. A lot of people would be frightened," Dr Hendron said.

His comments follow extraordinary events when IRA gunmen launched a series of attacks against members of the IPLO, starting with the shooting dead of Sammy

Ward, one of the organisation's top Belfast figures, on Saturday evening. His death at a bar in a nationalist enclave in East Belfast was followed by up to nine other weekend shootings, all carried out by IRA gunmen. At least six of the attacks were so-called kidnapings or punishment shootings and two were attempted murders.

The IRA claimed in a statement that it was not trying to initiate a new feud on rooting out drug dealers. "A year ago the IRA warned those responsible for corrupting our youth with drugs to stop or they would face the consequences," the statement said. "Since then the IRA has been assimilating intelligence.

Yesterday's attacks were part of the ongoing operation against those people acting with agencies outside the nationalist community, includ-

ing Loyalists and the RUC, for counter-insurgency purposes."

There can be little doubt that the Provisionals are committed to ridding West Belfast of a menacing drugs problem in their self-appointed role as an alternative police force. The shootings also underline the long-running rivalry between the two groups.

The IPLO is a small fanatical group formed in 1987 when it split from the even more ruthless Irish National People's Liberation Army, which murdered Airey Neave in a car bombing at Westminster in March 1979.

The IPLO's activities in the republican cause have been obscure and intermittent, carrying out occasional murders of Protestants and attempts on the security forces. In recent months, the organisation has split into two warring factions at a cost of at least three dead after the murder of one of its

top figures in Belfast in August.

The IRA and Sinn Fein have consistently called on the IPLO to disband, accusing it of being little more than a group of criminals more interested in drug dealing than in furthering the republican cause.

In December last year Sean McKnight, a Belfast Sinn Fein councillor, summed up the views of mainstream republicans when he dismissed the group as "corrupt and apolitical".

The decision by the IRA to go on the defensive is a risky one which could lead to significant loss of life within its own ranks at the hands of a gang of fanatics who have already made clear they have no intention of giving in to Provisional pressure.

The strategy owes much to the IRA and Sinn Fein's determination to demonstrate to its supporters that it has the authority to run republican areas of Belfast and to crack down on "anti-social elements", such as those involved in drug dealing, joyriding and petty theft.

"They are taking action because they believe it will enhance their standing within the community," Dr Hendron said. "I do accept that there is a certain amount of support for this kind of thing, just as there was when they took action against joyriders."

Dr Hendron said it would be easy to be cynical about the prospect of a feud — as many police and soldiers would admit to being privately — and let the gunmen on both sides get on with killing each other, but he added: "I cannot take that line. The people here want the provos off their backs."

Personally, I have vowed never to write books about lovable muggies, diet plans, my travels in Congo or the Queen Mother.

It was noble of Herriot to make his vow never to write another book about vets. None of us should blame him too harshly for failing to keep to it. But is this failure really something worth boasting about?

had been superseded by "The book they tried to ban", which was applied to everything from *Sympathizer* to unauthorised biographies of Princess Michael of Kent.

But a book to change your life and a book they tried to ban are both infinitely more alluring than a book its author "vowed he'd never write". I can think of a

number of books which, I feel sure, their authors vowed, they would never write. *The Wit and Wisdom of Prince Philip: Gazaar: The Authorised Biography of Paul Gascoigne* and vast quantities of books offering new clues to the identity of Jack the Ripper spring to mind.

Personally, I have vowed never to write books about lovable muggies, diet plans, my travels in Congo or the Queen Mother.

It was noble of Herriot to make his vow never to write another book about vets. None of us should blame him too harshly for failing to keep to it. But is this failure really something worth boasting about?

By the mid-eighties, "This book will change your life!"



New direction: Hilary Williams, the British Gas executive who won a sex discrimination case against the company last March, has left the job to which she was reinstated and has become chief executive of the Girl Guides (Robin Young writes).

Ms Williams, above, was expected to become the first woman director of British Gas until she was demoted from her £45,000-a-year job as southwest regional marketing manager. Yesterday

she spent her first day at the Guides' central headquarters in central London and declined to be interviewed.

Ms Williams, a psychology graduate and master of business administration, turned a £750,000 loss in British Gas's customer services department into a £750,000 profit and became the highest ranking woman in the company, but after privatisation she was ordered to move back to a job she had held eight years previously. Tony Roddis, regional

director of marketing, told her: "Thank God you have taken it like a man, even though you are the wrong shape."

An industrial tribunal later found British Gas guilty of discrimination and awarded Ms Williams her costs, £8,000 damages and her job back.

The Girl Guides Association said yesterday: "You can take it that our chief executive is paid comfortably more than the £45,000 Ms Williams was getting from British Gas."

Synod vote will split the church

BY RUTH GLEDHILL
RELIGION CORRESPONDENT

THE Church of England will be unable to continue in its present form if it votes against the ordination of women priests, according to a report published today. The decisive synod vote, expected to succeed or fail by a handful, is a week tomorrow.

Much attention has centred on those who will leave the church if it does ordain women priests. But after November, a report of in-depth discussions by women deacons in the Ely diocese, makes clear that the damage could be as serious if the vote fails. Illegal ordinations of women priests and other protest actions could split the church.

The report says that some women are already acting as "common law priests" — women who feel they have been called to the priesthood and who celebrate holy communion in private or informal settings.

Of 22 women who met between July and September this year, three said they would be unable to accept a decision against women priests. Six said they would consider giving up their ordained ministry and choose another career. Two said they might leave the church.

Six would consider protest action, such as seeking illegal ordination to the priesthood. Some bishops abroad have already indicated they would be prepared to ordain English women if the vote fails in November, the report says. Others were unsure what action they would take. All supported the ordination of women priests.

Companies seek top billing in arts sponsorship deals

BY ALISON ROBERTS, ARTS REPORTER

BUSINESSES are rejecting philanthropy for publicity deals as arts sponsorship budgets are decided for 1993. Arts groups are being forced to be more aggressive in pursuit of corporate support and those that secure sponsorship are having to negotiate contracts which give more prominent publicity to businesses.

Duncan Burns, the arts sponsorship manager for Midland Bank, said the sponsorship climate had changed. "Sponsors and potential sponsors are much more anxious to drive a hard bargain." On leaflets, posters and programmes corporate logos are displayed more prominently.

"We would look at things

like the target market — what sort of market exposure there is for us and what potential there is for client entertainment."

National companies, with the exception of the Royal Opera House, are maintaining their business funding, but smaller, regional arts organisations are less secure about sponsorship. Large sponsors of the arts, such as Lloyds and the Midland, have frozen their sponsorship budgets, and British Petroleum has cut its support from £1.2 million in 1991 to £650,000 in 1993. Smaller local businesses may cut sponsorship altogether.

BP is not renewing sponsorship contracts and full-time posts in the company's sponsorship office have been lost. Jeremy Nicholls, the arts sponsorship manager, said: "The company could not maintain its sponsorship programme. It's a philistine world you ask a hard-headed businessman why he should be sponsoring a poetry competition. If times are good he will say because poetry is good, but in bad times that changes."

Jerry O'Keefe, of Merseyside Arts, said that regional organisations which attracted smaller audiences were finding it much harder to find sponsorship and that bigger festivals were having to be "much more strategic in what they will give in exchange".

"Companies are creditors, not patrons," said Paul Blackman, of the Battersea Arts Centre in London. "The arts have learnt to work more economically and effectively as a business. If you have a good product that you are proud of then you should be able to market it; the arts are no longer sacrosanct in that respect."



My fair sponsor: Pygmalion at the National

Bank account blunders feed new breed of watchdog

BY TONY DAWES

THE high street banks make so many mistakes on customers' accounts that a small group of companies is earning a living from checking bank statements.

One of them claimed yesterday to have won customers £500,000 in refunds so far this year. The banks insist that over-charging is on a small scale and seldom exceeds £50, but as much as £75,000 has been repaid to one businessman.

The success of the account-checking companies underlines the growing discontent with Britain's major banks, which was revealed by a report in *The Times* yesterday that scores of customers are planning to sue for breach of contract, fibel and even fraud.

The errors include charging customers a higher agreed interest rate on their overdrafts and failing to notify them when overdrafts are due for renewal and then imposing an unauthorised borrowing rate which can be as high as 35 per cent.

Other mistakes are caused by computer operators who might deduct the same payment twice and by the failure to clear cheques in the agreed time.

David Gold started BankCalc Systems of Stamford, west London, a year ago after encountering problems on his own business statements. "I paid someone a lot of money to make up a computer program and initially I found I had been overcharged £11,000. Eventually I got back £74,000 on all my accounts," Mr Gold said.

From then on, BankCalc became his full-time business and he claims to have recovered

£500,000 from the banks for his business clients. He charges them £125 for analysing a year's statements and then 10 per cent of any refund obtained if the client wants him to pursue the case with the bank.

Graham Bolderson set up BankCalc a year after he went through his own company's bank statements and found he had been paying far too much for his overdraft.

"I spotted a pretty horrific error and set out to prove it," he said. "I developed some specialist software and then tested it on friends' company accounts. I found some of them had been overcharged, too."

Commercial bells started ringing when one friend sent my report to his branch of the National Westminster and was credited within 36 working hours with £4,500 for the error.

Michael Whyke of Clarkson Hyde Accountants of Sutton, south London, bought a BankCalc computer program to use on his clients' accounts. "I tried it out with our own bank statements to see how easy it was to use," he said.

"I did not expect problems but a £1,500 overcharge turned up. Although we had an agreement with the bank that if we gave two weeks' notice before exceeding our agreed overdraft limit we would not be charged extra, I found that we had been charged excess rates of 30 per

cent. We were highly delighted to get the money back."

John Newson, managing director of Thadocour TV Service of Mitcham, south London, examined bank statements going back 18 months because the interest payments seemed alarmingly high. After some argument, Lloyds Bank refunded him £6,657.

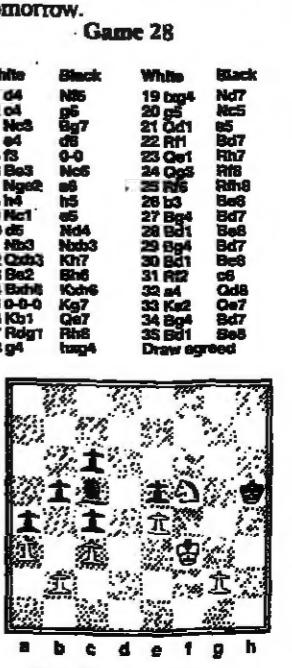
A survey by BankCalc found that of 116 companies which had used their program, 64 had been overcharged.

Pat Griffiths, who set up the Bank Action Group earlier this year after difficulties with Lloyds, has received a total of £14,600 in a series of refunds for overcharged interest and has even received an offer from the bank of compensation for her time in checking her accounts.

Mr Gold said: "Some bank managers put their hands up straight away while others try to baffle you with jargon and one has even told me recently that I will have to sue to get my client's money back."

A spokesman for Lloyds Bank said: "There is no need for any bank customer to buy an expensive piece of software to see if he has been overcharged. He should apply for a list of the interest rates charged on his accounts and check whether they have been applied correctly."

"If he finds mistakes have been made, he should then contact the bank who will sort it out for him."

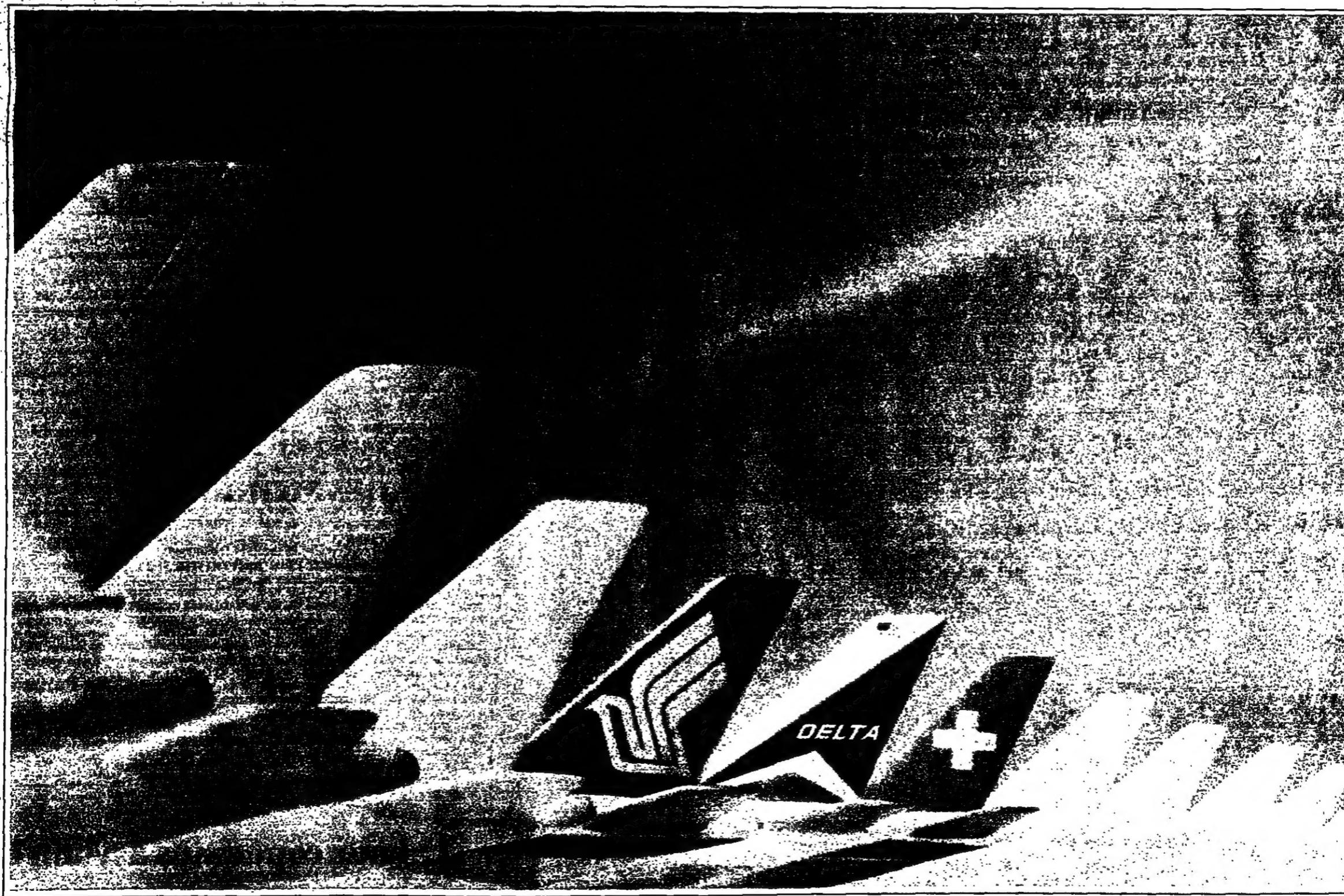


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مكتبة الأصل

Ministers battle to avoid public spending squeeze

BY JILL SHERMAN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CABINET ministers were locked in battle over spending last night as Downing Street made it clear that there was no question of the £244.5 billion target being breached.

The marathon meeting, which was expected to go on for several hours, was set up last week after ministers expressed their anger at the cuts proposed by the special spending committee, chaired by Norman Lamont.

The hardest hit departments are said to be defence, health, social security and environment. Michael Howard, the environment secretary, was last night arguing for extra money on transitional funding for the council tax, while Peter Lilley, the social security secretary is resisting plans for benefit cuts.

Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, is pressing for extra cash to build up family doctor services in London in preparation for the closure of surplus hospitals.

In spite of the prime minister's pledge to safeguard capital projects and the relaxation of Treasury rules to ease private sector investment, it is likely that some programmes to build roads, hospitals and schools will be hit.

Kenneth Clarke, the home secretary, predicted a meeting of hard bargaining, insisting that "painful choices" had to be made. He insisted, however, that the ceiling would be met, and that public borrowing would not be able to run out of control.

With some ministers calling

■ A marathon cabinet meeting was facing the "painful choices" demanded by the government's spending targets

for tax increases and others a relaxation of public sector borrowing to fund new developments. Downing Street officials emphasised last night that no option was being considered that would breach the £244.5 billion ceiling.

Speaking on BBC Radio 4's *World at One*, Mr Clarke said that it was likely to take quite a few meetings to reach agreement over spending decisions. However, he left the door ajar for increases in national insurance contributions and a temporary increase in higher rates of tax. While the government did not favour tax increases,



Clarke: borrowing will not run out of control

new homes is being firmly resisted by the Treasury, although it is said that there could be a small "gesture" in this direction.

As Conservative backbenchers started a rearguard action against cuts in the budgets for health, transitional funding for the council tax and training, Mr Clarke pointed out that every cabinet minister had signed up to the new system of setting public spending

Sir Rhodes Boyson, the MP for Brent North, said that failing to protect the implementation of the council tax would cause a big backlash in the South of England. If there were no new funds, money could be switched from standard spending assessments in the North to the South to cushion the impact, he said. "We cannot expect people in the South to pay higher bills than they do now."

Jerry Hayes, the MP for Harlow, said that the health service reforms should not be jeopardised by cuts on health.

The Labour MP Greville Janner, chairman of the all-party Commons employment select committee, said that any suggestion that training funds, already too low, would be cut back would be "horrendous".

Gordon Brown, the shadow chancellor, said that Labour would be mounting a nationwide campaign to prevent public spending cuts. The cabinet was engulfed in "crisis, chaos and bitter internal warfare," he said.

The release of council house capital receipts to increase local authority spending on



Spin doctor: Neil Kinnock gives a new twist to his career, at the microphone in Radio 2's Jimmy Young studio yesterday

Kinnock turns the tables

BY ROBIN YOUNG

BEATEN to the post in April, Neil Kinnock yesterday got his consolation prize – a week of presenting *The Jimmy Young Show* on BBC Radio 2.

As everyone knows who listens regularly to the "jolly old pro", as its sprightly regular presenter calls it, this is the light and easy-listening radio entertainment which Margaret Thatcher and her ministers promoted to be the principal national forum for political debate.

Mr Kinnock did his best yesterday to maintain the high standard set by the former pop singer turned king of the DJs whom he is temporarily replacing.

The former Labour leader has never presented a radio show before, and it sounded a bit like that. Despite a practice run sitting in with Young, he overran the time signal pips at 1pm, blathering on about fishermens' helmets.

Mr Kinnock's interviews included a newsmaking one with Sir Leon Brittan, the British European Commissioner, who said that doubts over Maastricht were already adversely affecting the economy by putting the brakes on inward investment. There were also worthy discussions about treatment for infertility on the NHS, complaints against the clearing banks, and the problems of carers.

Radio 2 will be back on the air today. The next two weeks are to be handled by Lord Archer and the Lib Dem president Charles Kennedy.

How extra cash turned into 'cut'

BY ANATOLE KALETSKY, ECONOMICS EDITOR

WHEN ministers warn of "intolerable" cuts in public spending, they are actually talking about increasing government spending by £17.9 billion, or 7.9 per cent. In fact, whenever the Chancellor talks about cutting public spending he actually means to increase it.

For anyone who has followed the Whitehall farce of government economic policy in the past few months, this contradiction should come as no surprise. Yet ministers, financial analysts and Treasury officials are strangely bemused when asked why one of the biggest real increases in public spending on record suddenly feels like a draconian squeeze.

The crucial figures are simple. In last year's Autumn Statement, Norman Lamont announced plans to spend £226.6 billion in 1992-3 and £244.5 billion in 1993-4. The £244.5 billion, known as next year's planning total, has now become the magic number which the Chancellor is determined to abide by, regardless of political cost. But why should the political costs be so daunting?

Not only is the new planning total 7.9 per cent higher than the last one in money terms, it actually represents an even bigger increase in real terms than the government had expected because inflation has turned out to be lower than the Treasury had assumed. Last year, the Treasury assumed 4 per cent inflation in the year to the fourth quarter of 1992, resulting in a planned real increase of 3.9 per cent. In fact inflation has now fallen to 3.6 per cent so that the same cash planning total amounts to a real increase of 4.3 per cent.

Why, then, the outcry over a 4.5 per cent real increase in public spending? The growth of unemployment has pre-

empted part of the planned increase in spending, but is insufficient to explain the apparent intensity of cabinet anguish this week. The Treasury assumed that unemployment in the next financial year would average 2.4 million. In fact the jobless total is 2.9 million and still rising. If unemployment averaged 3.2 million in 1993-4, the 800,000 additional jobless would add £2.6 billion to public spending. This is a large amount, but it is still only 1 per cent of the planning total — less than a quarter of the real increase planned for public spending next year.

Other areas of government spending are also sensitive to recession. Disability benefits and family credit for single mothers are rising faster than expected, as are legal aid and support for students in higher education. But these programmes are far too small to have any big impact on total public spending.

In any case, the extra spending connected with unemployment could be absorbed in the £8 billion contingency reserve included in the £244.5 billion planning total for next year. If this reserve were cut to £4 billion in next week's Autumn Statement, to leave some scope for unexpected developments within the financial year.

Why, then, all the political fuss? Next year's real increase in public spending, large though it is, will be smaller than the 6.5 per cent inflation-adjusted expansion this year. But nobody believed that the government could maintain indefinitely the rapidly growing largesse announced in an election year — notably, that is, apart from the cabinet.

AROUND THE LOBBY

MPs to vote again

A second ballot will be held next Wednesday to decide whether Ron Davies, Labour's agriculture spokesman, or George Robertson, shadow European minister, will take the shadow cabinet seat left empty following Bryan Gould's resignation. The result of the first election put Mr Davies in the lead with 78, Mr Robertson on 77 and the two other contenders, Tony Banks and Clare Short, well behind on 34 and 27 each. A crucial factor could be the votes of the 50 MPs who have not so far taken part in the contest.

New peers

Sir Bernard Braine, the former Father of the House of Commons, was introduced in the Lords as Lord Braine of Wheatley. Sir Derek Barber, former chairman of the Countryside Commission, was introduced as Lord Barber of Tewkesbury.

Science study

A white paper on science and technology is to be published in the new year. William Waldegrave, the science minister, said at question time. It will emphasise the importance of engineering, he said.

In Parliament

Commons (2.30): Questions: employment: prime minister, Housing and urban development Bill, second reading. Lords (2.30): Criminal justice bill, second reading.

Labour condemns asylum bill

BY ARTHUR LEATHLEY

THE revised government drive to curb abuses of Britain's asylum and immigration rules yesterday ran into bitter opposition in the Commons. Kenneth Clarke, the home secretary, came under attack over the proposals which he said would accelerate and simplify the decision-making process in asylum cases.

The government introduced the asylum and immigration appeals bill, a modified version of the asylum bill which it tried to pass last year but which ran out of parliamentary time when the general election was called.

The bill is aimed primarily at cutting down the number of what Mr Clarke called "groundless claims" from people applying for asylum who remain in Britain for long periods while their application

is being considered. Up to six out of ten people who were refused asylum were granted exceptional leave to remain in Britain, entitling them to work and benefit permits.

The new bill introduces a rule under which rejected asylum seekers can have an oral appeal within ten days but will have to leave if that appeal is turned down. Visitors and short-term students will not have the right to legal aid for lengthy and expensive judicial appeals.

The home secretary described these as "often a pointless or academic exercise".

Mr Clarke clashed repeatedly with Tony Blair, the shadow home secretary, over the new 48-hour time limit for giving notice of appeal where a person was refused entry on

arrival in the UK. The home secretary said it would apply only to those where the claim was "manifestly unacceptable" but Mr Blair insisted that it would apply to all rejected cases.

Mr Clarke said that the backlog of applications for asylum now stood at 60,000 cases. Although extra staff had cleared some 30,000 cases, he said: "The need for reform is as pressing as ever."

"I believe that we must strengthen our system of controlling entry and excluding people not entitled to be here. Good race relations, in my opinion, are heavily dependent on strict immigration control. We must say 'no' more firmly in the cases where there is no real scope for argument and 'yes' more quickly when 'yes' is the right answer."

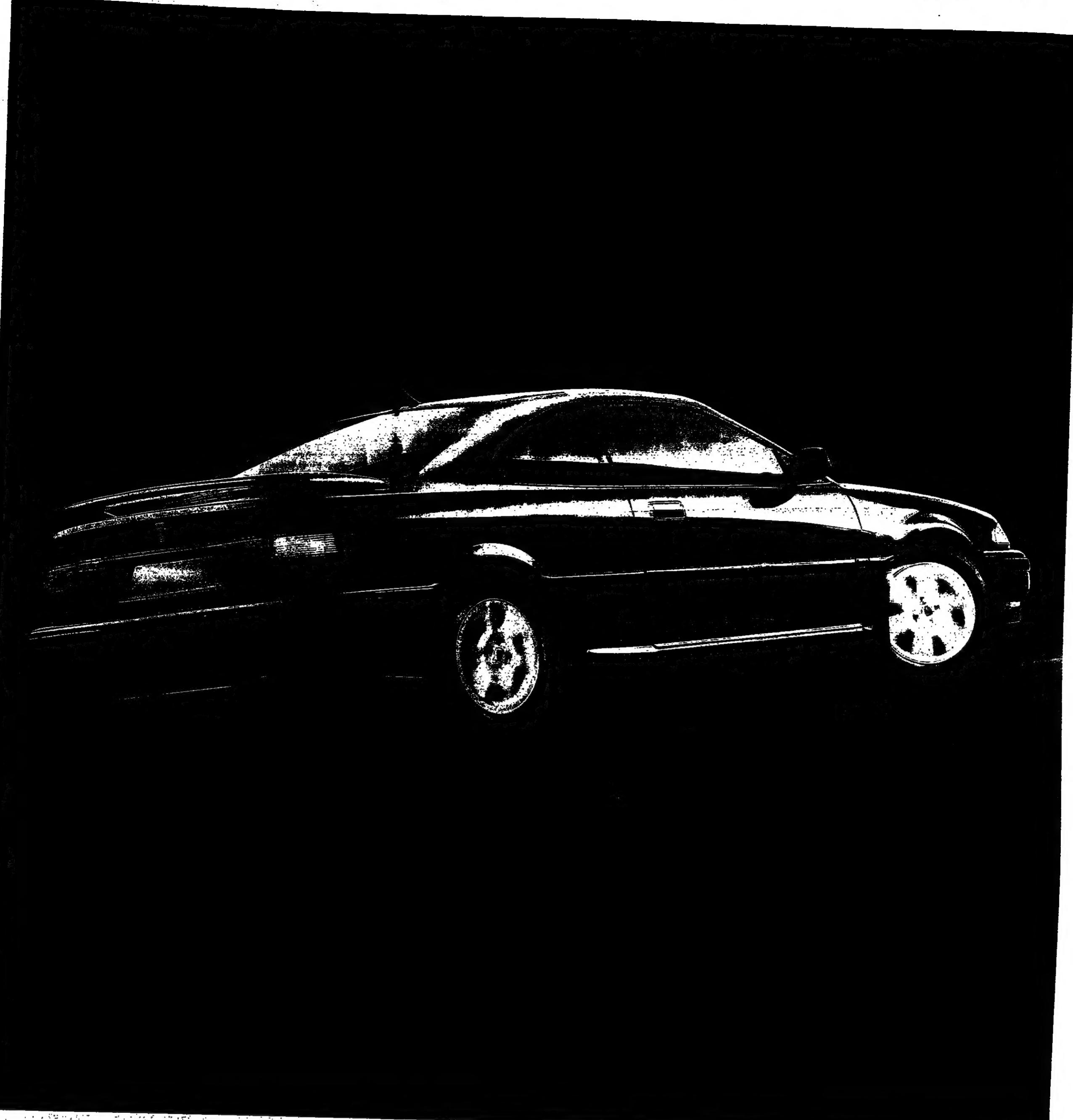
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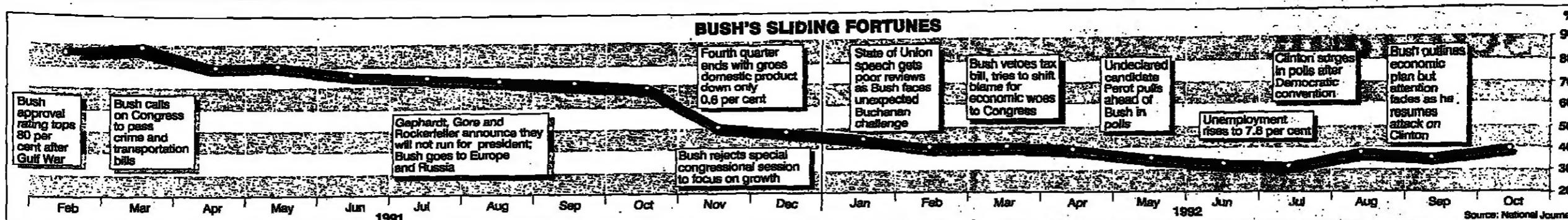
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The Connecticut patrician was content to preside and rule

BY MARTIN FLETCHER AND JAMIE DETTMER

WITH "character and trust" as his battle cry, President Bush has made a fighting comeback in the final days of the election campaign. None the less, the single overwhelming question of this election is how a man who 20 months ago was the most popular president since polling started has come so perilously close to defeat.

The answer lies less in Mr Bush's hapless 1992 campaign than in his campaign of 1988. Then, as now, Mr Bush offered no compelling vision of America's future. As Ronald Reagan's vice-president, he simply offered more of the same and destroyed Michael Dukakis with a campaign so ugly that his manager, Lee

Arwater, later apologised for it before he died.

The morning after that election a reporter asked Mr Bush to describe his mandate. "Well, I don't know whether I want to use the word 'mandate,'" he said. "I would simply say the people have spoken." Of his meagre election platform he said, on the eve of his inauguration: "That's history. That doesn't mean anything any more."

Thus began four years in which, with the notable exceptions of Operation Desert Storm and the North American Free Trade Agreement, this Connecticut patrician has for the most part seemed content simply to preside. It was as if reaching the White

House was his ultimate ambition, not using the office to change the nation for the better.

Mr Bush has certainly not created the 15 million jobs he said he would. His "kinder-gener" America culminated in the Los Angeles riots, and his strongest line in 1988 — "Read My Lips, No New Taxes" — has become the stick with which Bill Clinton beats him hardest.

For two years the Bush presidency was successful, with public attention riveted

on events overseas. The Berlin Wall fell, communism collapsed and Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait.

But if ever there was a moment for a president to tackle America's soaring budget deficit and endemic social problems, it was early 1991. Mr Bush's approval ratings nudged 90 per cent. Capitol Hill's Democrats were cowed. But in a victory address to Congress on March 9 Mr Bush demanded nothing more than prompt action on crime and transport bills.

Initiatives, notably on reforming health care, were announced but never pursued. The economy was expected to recover well before the election. This was a president coasting towards seemingly inevitable re-election.

That summer Mr Bush went off to London's G7 economic summit and the Soviet Union as the free world's undisputed leader. One by one top Democrats found excuses not to run for president. Mr Bush's ratings were slowly dropping as the economy worsened, but not enough to cause alarm. Re-election plans sat on shelves and the White House did not conduct a single private poll between February and December. Had it done so, it might have detected the growing anxiety and frustration

that led to Harris Wofford's sensational defeat of former attorney-general Richard Thornburgh in that November's Pennsylvania Senate by-election.

The White House not only woke up — it panicked. Mr Bush postponed a trip to Japan. He replaced Mr Simunu with Samuel Skinner, who was himself replaced eight unhappy months later. What he did not do was rush forward an economic stimulus package as many Republicans advised.

Things began to go wrong: the economic recovery petered out. Mr Bush fell ill in Tokyo and vomited in the Japanese prime minister's lap. He endured Pat Buchanan's rapier wit in New Hampshire. On

his way to a hostile reception at the Earth summit in Rio, he stopped for a hero's welcome in liberated Panama but was chased from the stage by tear gas. Los Angeles rioted. Ross Perot replaced Mr Buchanan as tormentor-in-chief. Mr Bush was in thrall to Republican conservatives and his ratings fell further than any other president's.

If there is to be a Houdini-like comeback, much of the credit will go to James Baker, who has sought to salvage this campaign. For two months, under Mr Baker's expert tutelage, Mr Bush has again been seeking to win the Oval Office by destroying his opponent.

The bitterness in GOP ranks augurs badly for a dignified Republican exit from the White House if Mr

Bush clings to hope of upset

Clinton awaits prize of 13-month crusade

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

BILL Clinton, his voice gone but seemingly poised for victory in today's presidential election, was rounding off 13 months of non-stop campaigning with one final Herculean effort last night. As the first East Coast voters go to the polls this morning, he will be ending a final 30-hour, 4,100-mile charge around America with a sunrise rally in Colorado.

President Bush, still predicting an upset victory that would eclipse even that of Harry Truman in 1948, was wrapping up his campaign with a six-state swing, culminating in a Houston rally late last night. Whether Mr Bush wins or loses the day, it was his last day's campaigning in a political career that began 28 years ago with an unsuccessful Texas senate race.

Ross Perot has faded, but still looks set to win the largest third party vote since George Wallace's 13.5 per cent in 1968, possibly since Robert La Follette's 16.6 per cent in 1924. He concluded his

efforts last night with a total of two hours of peak-time advertising on all three leading networks.

Yesterday polls all suggested Mr Clinton's slippage had been reversed after a weekend in which Mr Bush, tired and testy, was thrown on to the defensive by new evidence contradicting his claims to have been "out of the loop" during the Iran-Contra scandal.

The CNN-USA Today daily tracking poll gave Mr Clinton 44 per cent, Mr Bush 36 and Ross Perot 14. Apportioning

Voters hold sway on life and death

FROM BEN MACINTYRE IN WASHINGTON

IN ADDITION to choosing a president the American electorate will vote today on hundreds of statewide ballot measures — initiatives, referendums and state constitutional amendments — affecting a variety of issues from abortion to term limits for governors, from euthanasia to bear hunting.

Many of the ballot measures are highly contentious, such as the one in Oregon that would decriminalise homosexuality "unnatural and perverse", while others are essentially paternalistic, like the measure to ban steel-jaw traps on public land in Arizona and a proposal to stop strip mining in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Perhaps the most controversial measure is one that would make California the only place in America where doctors can legally help patients to a quick and painless death.

Under Proposition 161, the "California Death With Dignity Act", terminally-ill adults who have been diagnosed by two independent doctors as having less than six months to live would be able to request medical help in ending their lives. That wish would have to be expressed more than once, in writing, and signed in the presence of two people who are neither related to nor beneficiaries of the patient.

Proposition 161 was put on the ballot by an organisation called Californians Against Human Suffering, headed by a Los Angeles lawyer whose wife died of cancer at the age of 40 eight years ago. It is opposed by a range of medical and religious groups that together raised \$1.4 million in three months to fight the measure. Recent polls suggest that Californians are evenly divided over the proposal, with a slim majority in favour.

One man who might be expected to support the mea-

sure, but opposes it, is Jack Kevorkian, the Michigan doctor who helped five women to kill themselves and earned the sobriquet "Doctor Death". Dr Kevorkian argues that the proposal sets unnecessarily precise guidelines on when a doctor can assist suicide, a matter that he says should be established by common medical practice.

This election may also prove to be a matter of life or death in Washington DC where voters will decide whether to impose the death penalty. Amid much bad feeling this measure was forced into the ballot by Congress, which argued that residents should have the opportunity to express their preferences.

One of the most politically-sensitive measures, on the ballot in no less than 14 states, would limit the terms in office of members of Congress and state officials. According to election surveys, more than 70 per cent of voters in almost all these states will vote Yes to proposals that broadly aim to limit Senators to two six-year terms, and House members to three two-year terms.

The groundswell of support for such initiatives is an indication of voters' determination to gain more control over their elected representatives, but limiting the time in office of elected officials is expected to face a stiff constitutional challenge in the courts.

Gambling is another popular ballot measure, and voters will be asked to decide whether to permit lotteries in Georgia, Mississippi and Nebraska, bingo in Kentucky and riverboat gambling in Missouri, West Virginia, meanwhile, has come up with the most patriotic proposal. The state's citizens will vote on whether to give cash bonuses to soldiers who served in the Gulf War.

The parallel between this year and 1980 has always



Showing the flag: Clare Farrow, of the English Speaking Union's international department, prepares for tonight's American election party in central London

Republican campaign mirrors defeat of Carter

Anthony Howard in Washington compares the fortunes of incumbent American presidents battling for re-election

been the Republican campaign's private nightmare and one day we shall, no doubt, learn whether news of impending doom was broken yesterday to President Bush in the much the same way as it was a dozen years ago. Certainly, in the last 24 hours most of the confidence seems to have gone out of the Bush-Quayle campaign.

His crushing defeat — a gap of more than eight million votes between him and Mr Reagan in the total poll and a humiliating margin of 489-49 in the electoral college — did not, however, come as a total surprise. His own pollster, Pat Cadell, had prepared him for the worst on the eve of polling day. "It was hard for us," Mr Carter subsequently wrote, "to believe the dimensions of what Pat was telling us but it later proved to be accurate."

Initially, Mr Carter, like Mr Clinton a Southern governor challenging an incumbent

president (although Gerald Ford was, of course, unselected) appeared to have everything going for him. He certainly rode the wave of post-Watergate resentment with considerable skill. But, as the campaign went on, his commanding poll lead began to dwindle, much more inexorably than Mr Clinton's brief似乎 to do last week. By election day, President Ford had certainly come to believe in victory. In the end he was robbed of it by less than 2 per cent of the vote and the narrowest result in the electoral college (290-247) of any postwar election.

The 1960 presidential race remains, however, the classic cliffhanger of modern American politics. The polls that year regularly reflected the slenderest of margins between the Democratic challenger, Senator John F. Kennedy, and his Republican rival, the then vice-president Richard Nixon. There were seldom

more than two or three percentage points in it, though initially a solid advantage had appeared to lie with the Nixon-Lodge ticket taking over from the Eisenhower presidency.

But thanks to the first-ever presidential debates, Kennedy managed, though gradually, to edge ahead and in the final opinion poll surveys enjoyed an average lead of two points. That, however, proved to be a considerable overestimate. Kennedy finally won by a margin of just 0.2 per cent or a smattering of 115,000 votes out of 69 million while at the same time carrying the electoral college by a surprisingly solid margin of 303-219.

The election that finally brought Mr Nixon to the White House in 1968 was also a close-run thing, at least in terms of the popular vote.

The Democratic standard bearer that year was vice-president Hubert Humphrey, who had inherited a virtually bankrupt political estate from President Johnson. The war in Vietnam had driven the Democratic party apart and Humphrey's nomination had been opposed by both Senator Robert Kennedy (assassinated

'Don't call me First Lady' says Hillary

FROM DAVID ADAMS

IN MIAMI

EFFORTS to bring about statehood for Puerto Rico may be given a boost today if the Caribbean island's voters elect a political outsider as governor of what is America's biggest overseas dependency.

Pedro Rossello, of the New Progressive Party, which favours statehood, was ahead in the opinion polls until last week when, in a display that even his supporters confess was at best infantile, he stuck his tongue out at his leading opponent, Victoria Muñoz of the incumbent Popular Democratic Party, which advocates continued commonwealth status for the island.

The damage to Mr Rossello's campaign worsened when a complete tape of the debate including untranscribed material was released. While Mrs Muñoz was addressing the audience, he mimicked her and made childish gestures. Benny Ceron, a political analyst, said: "That raised very serious doubts about Rossello among people from all political persuasions."

If he is elected, Mr Rossello has promised to introduce a plebiscite about petitioning Congress for statehood. Also, if the statehood win, new pressure will be placed on the American authorities to consider the desires of Puerto Ricans, an issue that Congress has sought to ignore.

Mrs Muñoz, who is a local senator, has struggled against the male-dominated politics of the island. She has played up her lineage as the daughter of a family of distinguished Puerto Rican statesmen by running television advertisements with images of herself mixed in with those of Baroness Thatcher, Indira Gandhi and Corazon Aquino.

Other Little Rockers expected in town include Martin Luther King biographer, Taylor Branch, who shared a flat with the Clintons just after they left university, and worked with Mr Clinton on the failed election campaign for George McGovern.

Estate agents are worried that house prices might come as a shock to Arkansas folk. "I expect some of them will rent at first," Bill Harris, of the Georgetown property company Pardoe. "Democrats tend to go for less expensive properties, and our average house sale is \$45,000." Mixed-race and "artsy" Adams Morgan is expected to replace all-white Georgetown as the hip district to live in.

The Clinton team likes to emphasise similarities with the glowing Kennedy years, when youth, optimism and good looks ruled. The last Democratic interlude, the Carters' reign, was marked by extreme dreariness. Jimmy Carter turned the heating down to save money, and Rosalynn had to wear grim high-necked dresses to balls. She decided to stop all White House parties at 11pm to avoid paying the staff overtime, and served only wine. She considered "hard liquor" a waste of money.

The excesses of the Reagan years are not expected to return either. The vast blue and red satin ball dresses are being purged from Georgetown shops in favour of sleeker lines. Bill Blass is out. Donna Karan, one of Mrs Clinton's favourite designers, is in.

White House society will be more mixed, with minorities joining the mainstream. Gay friends such as David Mixner, an influential political organiser and election adviser, will be regular guests, and women will be invited in their own right.

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Serb radicals start fierce campaign to overthrow Panic

FROM TIM JUDAH AND DESSA TREVISAN IN BELGRADE

YUGOSLAVIA'S top military and political leaders met in emergency session yesterday as radical Serb nationalists launched a campaign to depose Milan Panic, the prime minister.

Meanwhile, Bosnian peace hopes plummeted as the Bosnian Serb "parliament" in Banja Luka said it was withdrawing its delegation from the talks on the republic's future in Geneva. It issued a statement rejecting the constitutional proposal put forward by international mediators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance last week and said delegates would only return if the right to "self-determination" was granted.

In the Bosnian context "self-determination" is code for the right to secede, allowing Serbs and Croats to join their "mother republics". It is precisely this form of partition that has been ruled out by the peace negotiators.

The state council met in Belgrade as the Yugoslav parliament debated a motion of no confidence in Mr Panic which was supported by nationalist extremists and Mr Milosevic's ruling Socialist Party. One of the fiercest attacks came from Vladislav Jovanovic, the Serbian foreign minister, who accused Mr Panic of "helping the world to disband Yugoslavia". Another

deputy called Mr Panic a "madman... pushing Serbia into civil war".

Socialists and nationalists have objected to Mr Panic's conciliatory policies towards Croatia and ethnic Albanians and accuse him of being a traitor and an American agent.

Deputies from Montenegro are supporting Mr Panic and are even threatening to abandon the two-republic Yugoslavia and let the Serbs settle their own problems. One deputy from Montenegro's ruling party said yesterday that a vote against Mr Panic would be a vote for "total isolation, perhaps even for a civil war".

The European Community yesterday condemned a Serb attack on the Bosnian town of Jajce. A statement issued by Bratislavka, in its role as EC president, said: "The Community and its member states condemn the recent attack on Jajce by Serb militia and the barbarous shelling of civilians leaving the town. These attacks must cease without delay."

Jajce fell to Serb forces last Thursday, forcing 35,000 civilians and Croat and Muslim troops to flee towards nearby Travnik — the largest single exodus of the war according to United Nations relief officials.

Officials of the Geneva Conference argue that the road to peace in Bosnia runs through Zagreb and Belgrade. Mr Milosevic has snubbed the talks but Lord Owen and Mr Vance have worked with Mr Cosic and Mr Panic in the hope that they will be able to deliver the Bosnian Serbs.

The developments of the last three days suggest this strategy is now doomed. Over the weekend the Bosnian Serbs laid the legal basis for greater Serbia and have now said they will not return to the talks unless they effectively sanction their right to do this. The attacks on Mr Panic and Mr Cosic in Belgrade are connected because both have agreed to recognise Bosnia's international frontier, something that Mr Milosevic has rejected.

Our friend then decided that the journalists must negotiate safe passage for everybody with the Croats lurking somewhere in the bushes. An advanced party led by Michael Montgomery of the *Daily Telegraph*, a fluent Serbo-Croat speaker, set off to find them and talk to them. They agreed to let everyone through.

"We drove off and led the way back out towards the relatively safe haven of the Bosnians dug in at the shallow valley. The bus full of refugees crawled along behind us as we crawled up the mountain side and a Union Jack jammed in the car window, flattered in the breeze. The line of tank traps at the Bosnian position was proved aside for us."

The soldiers manning checkpoints may look intimidating but they often dispense useful intelligence about fighting nearby.

Safety tip number two is that it is usually easier to get in than out. Driving along a deserted mountain path in central Bosnia we were heading towards Novi Travnik, scene of clashes between Croats and Muslims. The Bosnian army was dug into a shallow valley and we talked them into moving their tank traps aside to let us pass.

It was a mistake. As we drove into the woods, groups of camouflaged soldiers kept materialising from the undergrowth, tripping a stranded unit of nervous Croat guerrillas, stuck between Bosnian lines. It rapidly became clear we were heading straight into the war zone proper as we

drove past more and more soldiers down into a basin where a stranded convoy of refugees waited. Street fighting raged a few miles away. It was not a place to linger. "I think we have passed through one checkpoint too many," a French colleague said.

She was right. The first motor exploded a few moments later. A second, closer shot followed; sending up dust as it landed 50 yards away. Soldiers and civilians fled in unison at the sound of a sharp and terrifying bang as we ran for cover in the basement of a house near by. As we left rapidly, the refugee convoys followed us; escorted by a bearded Muslim soldier with a *Kalashnikov* magazine down his boot.

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Fighting for crumbs: starving refugees, who fled the town of Jajce when it fell to Serb forces last week, grab bits of bread in Travnik yesterday

How to play your cards and live

FROM ADAM LEBOV IN CENTRAL BOSNIA

EVERY journalist working in Bosnia can learn to dread the moment when his car rounds a corner and the road ahead is suddenly full of armed men blocking the way. Such checkpoints signal benefit country.

Journalists can cross frontiers and wander around war zones in the former Yugoslavia if they need four sets of accreditation: United Nations, Croatian, Bosnian and Bosnian-Serbian. The first safety tip is to get the right card out. Drivers learn to shuffle their collection of accreditations faster than a card sharp on Oxford Street, but even that is no guarantee of safe passage. A Dutch colleague was held for hours at gunpoint after Serbs discovered his Croatian card.

The most frightening checkpoints are those set up by Serb irregulars, often drunk with power and alcohol. Even they can have a sense of humour. A carload of mostly American journalists was pulled in, for questioning, and released one by one apart from the man writing for a *Delta* newspaper.

"You are from Delta?" asked the Serb.

"Yes, replied the nervous writer.

"You must give us special information before you can leave."

"Er, yes, of course. What do you want to know?"

"Whosehot JK?" demanded the Serb.

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Far right spreads tentacles through a blighted Russia

FROM ANNE MCLEVOY IN MOSCOW

HIER hefty rubber boots did not quite do justice to the bride's white lace; her bridesmaid wore pink Lycra leggings and clutched a bunch of wilting gladioli at the priest intoned the ancient liturgy in a fine sonorous bass.

Only the bemuddled usher, in jet black uniform and knee-length black boots, and the array of nationalist literature and pictures of Serb corpses in the porch indicated that Tatata was plighting her troth. Konstantin in the church that has become the ex officio headquarters of Russia's far-right Pamyat (Memory) movement and its affiliates.

The paramilitary organisation has 400 named members and claims several thousand more supporters. It has profited from the chaotic state of Russian democracy and is currently lending itself credence by linking arms with the Orthodox Church in Exile — the United States-based rival to the state-affiliated Russian Orthodox Church, which has been discredited by revelations of its links with the KGB.

Father Aleksi is not ashamed of the church's association with an organisation that is openly anti-Semitic. Its leader, Dimitri Vasilyev, a self-declared poet, metaphysician and film-director with the bearing of an overgrown night-club bouncer, recently announced: "We do not fear the word fascism. It is a spiritual phenomenon."

No organisation in Russia more disturbingly than Pamyat represents the allure of spirituality laced with brutality and the attraction of the irrational in times of social uncertainty. Its sympathisers do a brisk trade in pamphlets in the grimy underpasses of the city. In St Petersburg, the organisation advertises its world-view openly.

This view has been neatly summarised in Mr Vasilyev's words that "Zionism and

Freemasonry are the main cause of all the world's troubles". Zionists and Freemasons are liberally interpreted by Pamyat to embrace Westerners, blacks, democrats and homosexuals, all of whom have been targets for its violence.

Founded ten years ago out of the underground patriotic group Vityaz (Knights) and the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, Pamyat used to be dismissed as a group of eccentrics living in the make-believe world of historical victories and hopes of a pan-Slavist revival.

But the shift to the right of Russian politics has given the organisation new confidence. Now it has sympathisers on the parliamentary right and in the army, where nationalists such as Colonel Stanislav Tereshkov, head of the hardline Union of Officers, advocate a violent takeover of government by "all forces united in the cause of the nation".

Pamyat's activists, who until recently operated in clandestine groups on violent sorties, not long ago staged an uninsured and highly public visit to the offices of Moskovsky Komosolets, the mass-circulation pro-Yeltsin newspaper, and read out a denunciation of its "Judeo-Masonic authors and anti-Russian" stance.

The police took 40 minutes to arrive, by which time the men had gone, leaving graffiti on the walls of a Jewish hydra having its heads crushed by a Nazi boot. There are indications of growing

sympathy for the organisation in the police and security service, many of whom have shed their commitment to Communism in favour of the new nationalism.

After the wedding Father Aleksi pronounced a blessing, wishing the congregation peace and honour before embarking on a careful justification of Pamyat, whose members he refers to as "our fighters". Asked if the paramilitary nature of the organisation is not at odds with the clerical message, he replies that the "fighters" are wearing black "in mourning for Russia as long as it struggles under the yoke of atheism and Communism".

Sasha Nikolyev, a burly youth selling badly printed brochures, is one of the new breed of young Pamyat supporters who now admiringly meet a Jew but talk with casual hatred of the "Yids who are seizing power" and the "international conspiracy against Russia". He worships Igor Talkov, the talented but unbalanced nationalist pop-singer who was shot dead, apparently in a post-concert brawl, earlier this year. Talkov has since been elevated to the status of right-wing martyr.

Pamyat now enjoys the support of Aleksandr Nevzorov, the demagogic presenter of St Petersburg television's cult 600 Seconds show whose mass audience throughout Russia was last week treated to a defence of the group's activities. The conclusion reached was that "the ideological pie of democracy has been eaten up".

With a handful of gullible clergymen to bowdlerise them, a clutch of useful friends in high-places, and a population desperate for the distraction from hardship that hatred brings, Pamyat is unlikely to find itself short of new supporters in the near future.



RAF will honour sultan

London: The Sultan of Brunei, His Majesty Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Muizzaddin Wadulah, will have another title to add to his collection at the conclusion of his first state visit to Britain which begins today (David Waterhouse).

The monarch will become an honorary marshal of the RAF. His visit will include a state dinner with the Queen, tea with the Queen Mother and he will attend the beating of the retreat at the Tower of London, to be carried out by the Princess Elizabeth Gurkha regiment. A battalion of the gurkhas continues to protect Brunei and the sultan's \$31 million (£20,000 million) fortune.

A spokesman for President Yeltsin said the emergency decree would apply to North Ossetia and Ingushetia and would remain in force for a month. The decree includes a provision to disarm the rival factions by force if necessary.

The airport at Vladikavkaz, the North Ossetian capital, was under military control yesterday, and Russian troops in armoured vehicles were patrolling the area. A curfew was in force in the city.

The declaration of a state of emergency and the immediate dispatch of troops to the area show how seriously Mir Yeltsin views unrest in a region of arbitrary borders whose patchwork of ethnic groups. He is clearly anxious to contain the fighting before instability spreads in the region. Russia's policy is to block access by Ingush fighters to Vladikavkaz, which they regard as their historic home. The Russian parliament met in closed session yesterday afternoon to discuss the unrest, which killed dozens of people at the weekend.

Military warned: Edward Shevardnadze, the Georgian leader, yesterday told his military that their seizure of a Russian ammunition dump in the town of Akhalkalaki was "playing with fire". He called on its leaders to restore discipline.

False profits: Seoul: The South Korean Damai Missionary Church, which predicted the world would end last week, is disbanding. Fraud proceedings have started against sect leaders for alleged profiteering from followers who handed over property. (Reuters)

Drug seized: Madrid: Drug squad agents seized a tonne of cocaine with a street value of £187 million from a house in the town of Brunete, near Madrid, in one of the biggest hauls ever in Spain. Ten people, including a number of Colombians, were arrested. (Reuters)

Muslims gain: Ankara: The Muslim fundamentalist Welfare party, which campaigns for an Islamic state, capitalised on discontent among Istanbul's poor, capturing nearly a third of the vote in scattered municipal elections, according to official returns. (AP)

False profits: Seoul: The South Korean Damai Missionary Church, which predicted the world would end last week, is disbanding. Fraud proceedings have started against sect leaders for alleged profiteering from followers who handed over property. (Reuters)

Korean press shies away from inscrutable occidentals

FROM JOANNA PITTMAN IN SEOUL

DECKED out in billowing canary silk skirts, silk hats topped with pheasant feathers that wagged furiously in the wind, and beads slung under the chin, the four dozen young men from the South Korean military academy at the welcoming ceremony for the Prince and Princess of Wales may have felt a little silly as the wind whipped up under their 14th-century-style skirts, setting hem flapping indecorously around knobby knees.

But they certainly did not show it. As the prince paced the red carpet past a more orthodox brass band and an assembly of conventionally dressed army and navy personnel, the members of the traditional Chindae ensemble proudly lifted conch shells and rudimentary pipes and trumpets to their lips and struck up with a rather jocular little number composed in 1990.

The prince, receiving an earful at close quarters, managed to keep a natural wince at bay and marched smartly past as the cacophony gathered pace, sounding as untrained ears rather like a

classroom of toddlers experimenting with their first musical instruments.

The princess smiled wanly through this assault on the royal ear-drums, perhaps more concerned that in her subtle primrose yellow suit and navy hat she had been badly upstaged by the military men in their riotous array of stylish jewel-coloured silks.

But the ordeal did not last long. After the prince and princess were welcomed by Hyun Soong Jong, the South Korean prime minister, and David Wright, the British ambassador, they were whisked off sitting cross-legged together in the back seat of a limousine, under intense scrutiny from the zoom lenses of the British royal hack pack. They laid a wreath at the national cemetery and presided over an opening ceremony for the new British embassy building in central Seoul.

Then, duties completed for the first day of their four-day visit, they were deposited for the night in a £2,500-a-night at the glitzy Hyatt Hotel, closely followed by an entourage of 22 minders.

With tales of further mar-

riage of the princess in aqua mood. Members of the Korean press, however, have none of the proudest interest in the royal couple's sleeping, or indeed any other, arrangements and appear to have other things on their minds such as the discovery last week of a stash of weapons, apparently belonging to North Korean guerrillas on an island just north of Seoul.

The man on the Seoul omnibus has so dim a recognition of this latest batch of visiting royal personages that the state television network was required to jog the collective Korean memory with a documentary last week on the royal wedding and a few related details of the Windsor's lives.

Despite their unusually anonymous status, the royal

couple's visit is expected to be of some use to British industrial manufacturers who sorely need to have their profiles raised in a country which looks naturally to America as its market, and to Japan and Germany as its suppliers of machine products and which ran up a £150 million trade surplus with Britain last year.

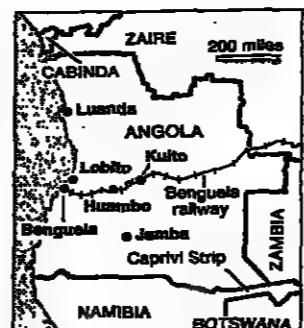
Pretoria keeps its distance

By OUR FOREIGN STAFF

SOUTH Africa will not become directly involved in Angola peace efforts because it would arouse suspicion of interference in Luanda's affairs, R.F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, said yesterday. But a ministry source said Pretoria wanted an end to the fighting as it was eroding international confidence.

Philip Nel, a Stellenbosch University political scientist, believes that the conflict is a logical consequence of years of South African destabilisation of its black-ruled neighbours.

Angola's civil war mirrors the fears of South Africans about the transition to democracy. It bolsters white, right-wing predictions of post-apartheid anarchy. For the African National Congress, it proves that whites will continue to manipulate the will of a black majority. Mr Botha said South Africans would be evacuated.



BY MILES BREDIN IN LUANDA AND SAM KILEY, AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

Angolan forces regain control of key cities

Unita's defeat in September's elections.

Fifteen American diplomats were released yesterday from "three days of terror", when they were loaded into armoured personnel carriers and driven to safety with an escort of three T-54 tanks. They had been trapped in the US embassy compound in Luanda while a savage battle went on around their heads. Three mortar shells fell in the compound, and there was severe damage in small-arms

crossfire as staff took cover in secure areas. The British ambassador, John Flynn, was credited by Mary Speers, a US embassy official, as securing their release.

Luanda descended into anarchy on Saturday when Unita forces attacked a police station opposite their headquarters in the Hotel Turismo. A heavy gunfight erupted, and according to Portuguese government sources in Lisbon, the ruling MPLA — the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola — used this as an excuse to wipe out Unita by legitimate means. Members of crack riot police, the "Ninjas", poured rocket-propelled grenades, mortar and small arms fire into the Unita hotel, zig-zagging from parked car to doorway as they advanced up the street. Unita returned heavy machinegun fire and grenades.

The MPLA has been careful to use the police to attack Unita, keeping army interven-



Televiçao Popular de Angola

Battle beat: Angolan television showing a Luanda policeman armed with rocket-propelled grenades and assault rifle

tion to a minimum to help guarantee international support for its actions. Peace monitors are overlooking that Angolan police are equipped with tanks, armoured personnel carriers and mortars.

The fighting spread to other

areas of the city later in the day and from there to the Miramar, an area of Luanda where many foreign embassies and a house belonging to Dr Savimbi are located. A two-day battle ensued around the American embassy. Ms

Speers says they owed their lives to "the discipline of both Unita and the Ninjas".

The Americans were able to refuse an invitation to join Unita in Dr Savimbi's house and, unlike two British hostages who have now been released, were not forced to accompany them. They stayed in their compound with the help of the British and the UN and were eventually given safe passage by General Rue Ndala of the MPLA.

The diplomats were driven

to the Meridien Hotel, where many other expatriates were awaiting evacuation, in a convoy of tanks which put down heavy covering fire as they ground slowly through the streets. The 15 Americans arrived at the hotel relieved and happy but looking onward to the next stage of their evacuation.

However, Edward Dejaniene, the American ambassador-designate and three others, are determined to stay behind to monitor the peace process.

Ex-pilot has Ghana win in his sights

By DAVID WATTS, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

GHANA'S leader, Flt Lt Jerry Rawlings, seems poised to break the current run of defeats for incumbent African leaders when his countrymen go to the polls today.

With little to choose between the parties, the only real issue is whether Ghanaians want the unpredictable former air-force pilot who seized power in 1981 to continue his rule.

He banned party politics and has run the country in his own dictatorial style, preventing some of those who might have run against him from returning to contest elections.

However, he lifted the ban on parties in May and set up a National Democratic Congress — the successor to the ruling Provisional National Defence Council.

The opposition is complaining loudly about electoral rolls, which they claim have never been purged of the dead and the absent. Even Flt Lt Rawlings' name appears twice on the rolls — "but one has to assume he doesn't intend to vote twice," said a Commonwealth observer.

"There have been the usual complaints about the electoral roll," said the Commonwealth observer's spokesman, "but we're not absolutely certain that there has been any padding. Whether the rolls will affect free elections is something we are keeping an open mind about." Some fear that the rolls contain as many as 1.5 million names too many.

The opposition, led by the

conservative New Patriotic party of Albert Ado Boakye, always had the option of pulling out of the election because of the electoral lists but has chosen not to do so. The 25-strong Commonwealth group, representing 30 nations and led by Sir Ellis Clark, a former governor of Trinidad and Tobago, has toured the country but found no evidence to back claims of violence and intimidation. Nor had the spokesman serious concerns about double voting.

In urban areas, people are likely to have to queue to vote. "If it's anything like the Zambian elections, people will have to queue four or five hours to vote. They're hardly likely to do that twice," the spokesman said. Final polling stations will have only some 500 to 700 voters each and will be easier to monitor.



Rawlings: ruled in a dictatorial style

Renamo 'supplying Inkatha with arms'

FROM MICHAEL HAMILYN IN JOHANNESBURG

CLAIMS that the Inkatha Freedom Party has established an armed wing supplied with automatic assault rifles by Renamo rebels in Mozambique are being investigated here.

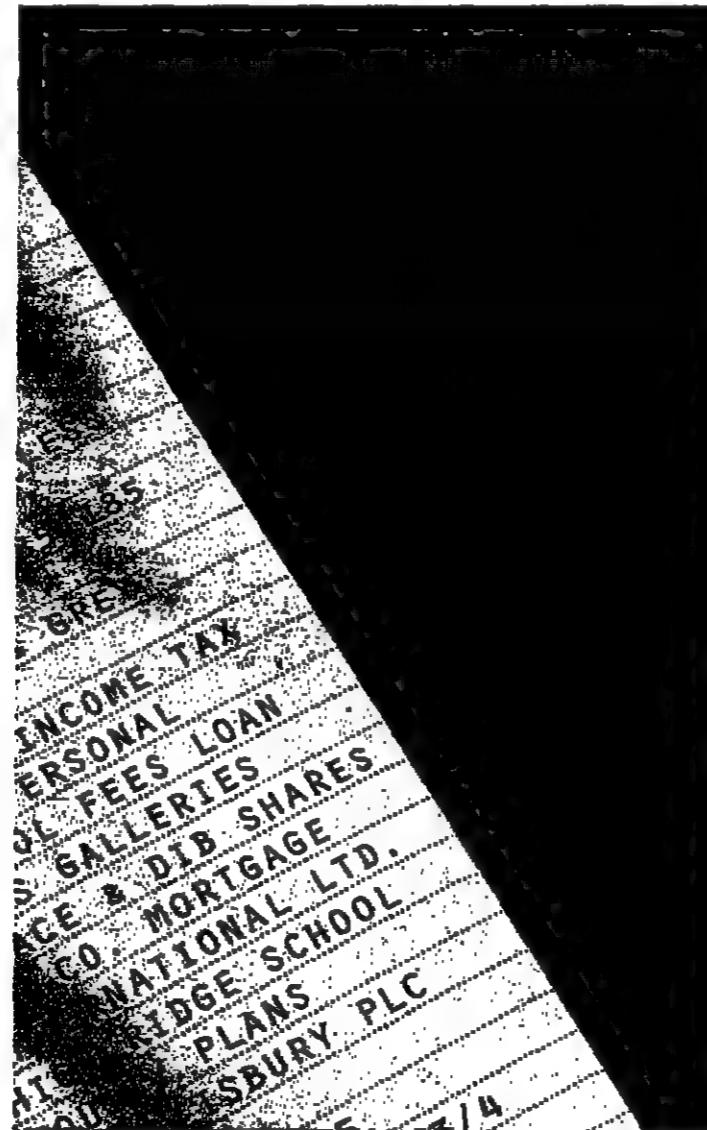
The allegations come from a former prominent member of Inkatha, a white adventurer who came to South Africa from Zimbabwe, and who has now been expelled by Britain. Bruce Anderson, who was once a member of the far-right National Front in Britain, says in affidavit given to the Johannesburg Sunday Star that he and a friend who was deeply involved with Mozambican rebels obtained guns and explosives to arm Inkatha members. Mr Anderson told the Sunday Star that the guns were hidden somewhere near Roodeport, not far from Johannesburg. He also said that the South African Defence Force was involved with him in a plan to destabilise the African National Congress.

The defence force and the mainly Zulu Inkatha denied the allegations and asked Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who has just wound up an enquiry into the Boipatong massacre, to look into the claims, as has the ANC.

The Sunday Star report said that the guns brought in from Mozambique were handed out to hostel dwellers, many of whom, it claimed, were members of the Inkatha military wing. Mr Anderson was quoted as saying that he hoped his frankness "will persuade the ANC moderates to bring their radicals and communists into line to avoid a civil war".

The fighting in the hills and valleys of KwaZulu and the rest of Natal between members of the ANC and Inkatha claimed another five lives over the weekend. The ANC is proposing to send a high-level delegation to Natal this week to revive the national peace accord. The delegates will be 15 members of the movement's national executive led by Walter Sisulu, the deputy president; Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general, and his deputy, Jacob Zuma, the only Zulu on the ANC executive.

But ANC officials said there are no plans for them to meet their Inkatha counterparts officially. A spokesman for Inkathazadi said that there was no prospect of it attending a meeting of peace accord signatories until "the surrogacy question is settled".



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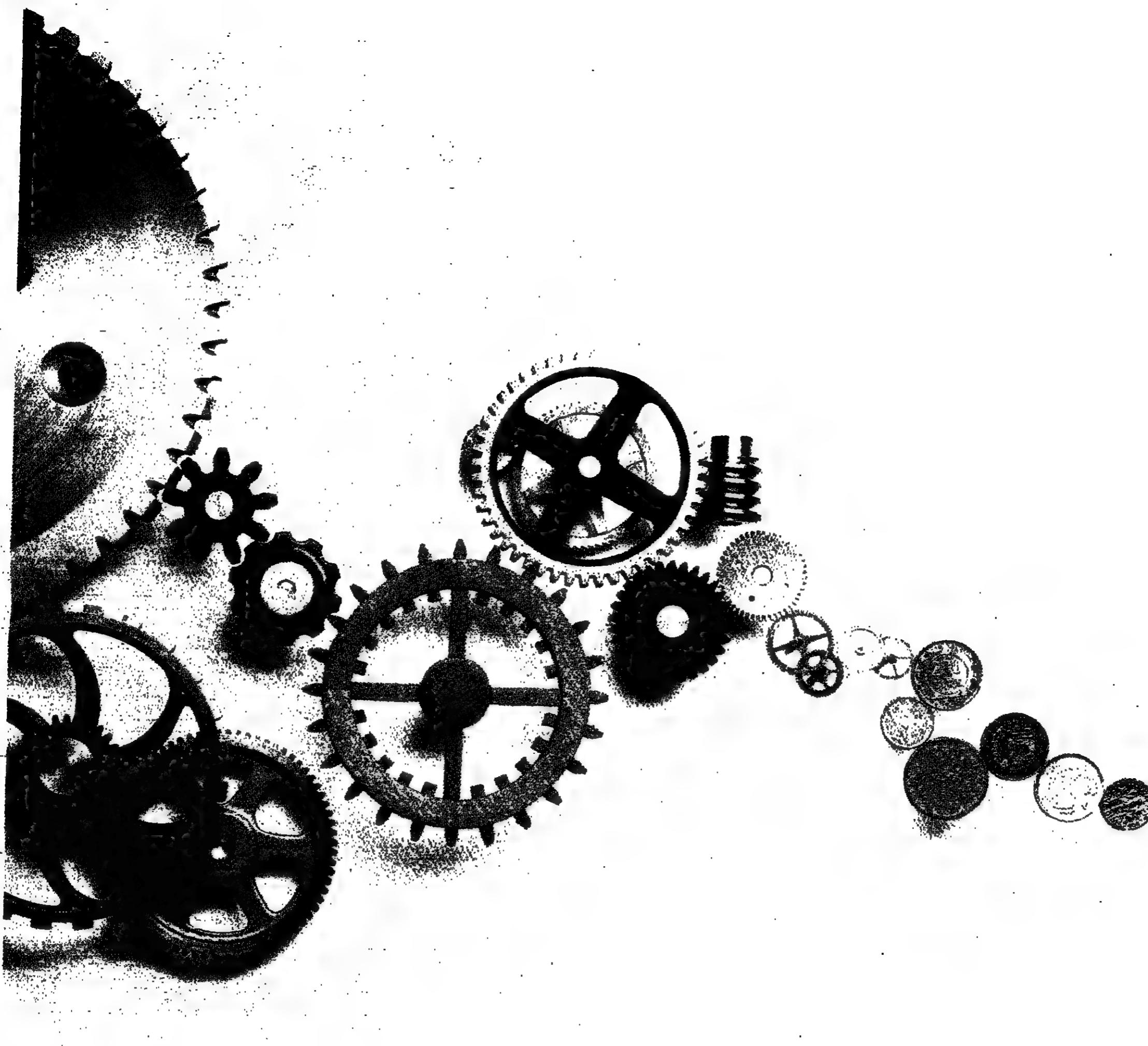
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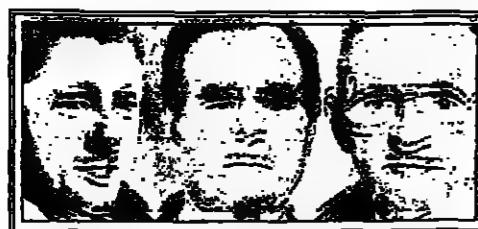


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THE TIMES GUIDE TO THE US ELECTION

Unlocking the White House door



Jamie Dettmer
outlines the key
states in a close
finish, and the
electoral college
that will determine
the next president

Forty-four years ago on election night, President Harry Truman retired to bed an hour after the first returns had begun to filter in from eastern seaboard states. The frontrunner, Thomas Dewey, appeared to be heading for victory. At midnight, Truman woke up, switched on the radio and heard that he was "undoubtedly beaten". Convinced that he would in fact win, "Give 'em hell" Harry rolled over and went back to sleep.

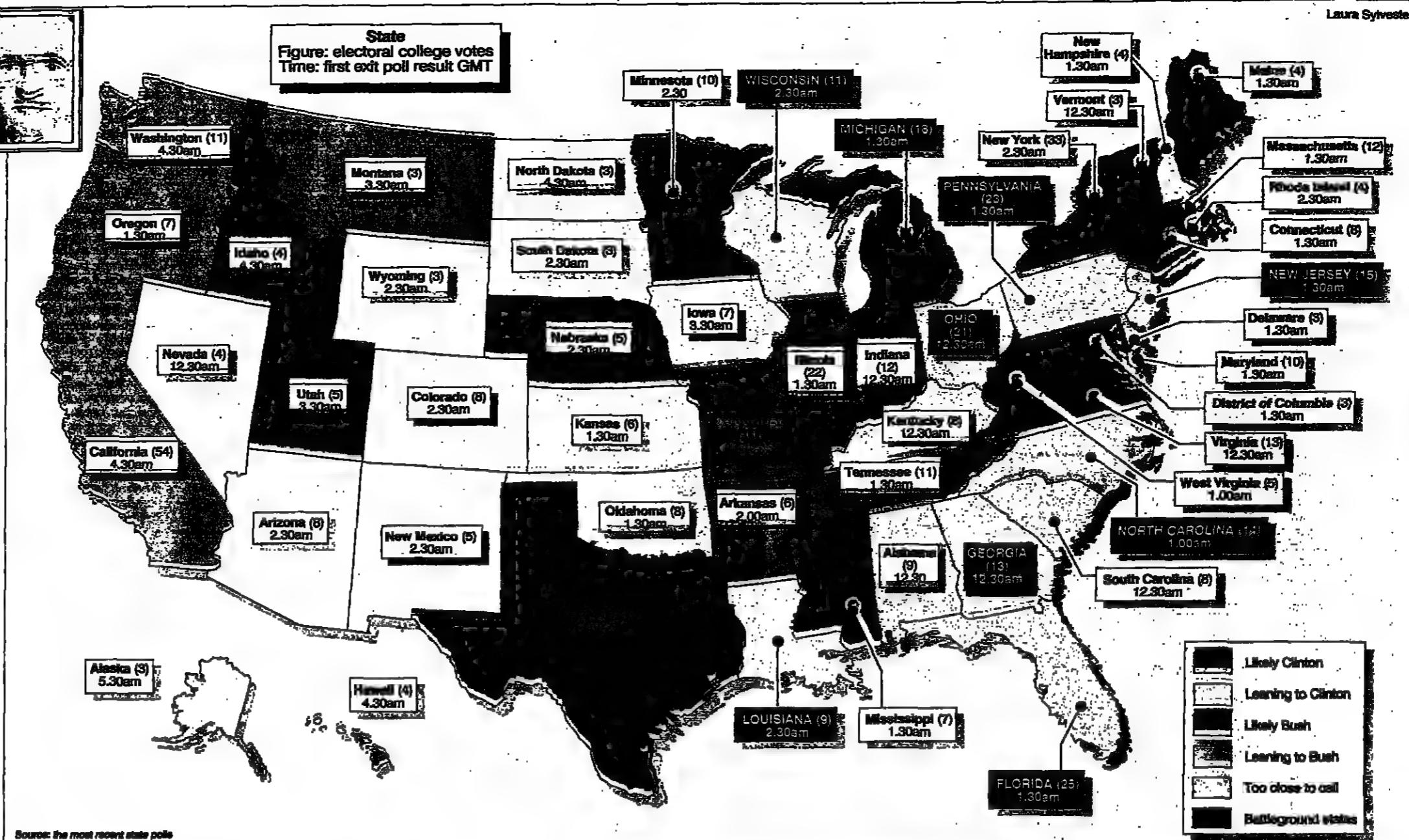
Neither President Bush nor Governor Clinton will be as nonchalant tonight as America's 33rd president was in 1948. With the development of exit polls and technical improvements in communications and broadcasting, they will receive a battery of facts, figures and predictions that Truman did not have to suffer.

The national polls have been moving Mr Bush's way in the past week. The race has narrowed and could well, in American political jargon, turn into a "squeaker" (close finish). Mr Clinton's position as favourite is based on the political geography of this election. It is much easier to imagine victory scenarios for Mr Clinton than for Mr Bush. The statewide polls have continued to point to a Clinton win, although it is worth remembering that many of the state surveys are almost a week out of date.

A presidential election is not decided by a straightforward tally of the popular vote. The winner is the candidate who gains 50 per cent or more — that is, at least 270 — of the US electoral college votes.

The electoral college consists of delegations from each state and totals 538 members. The college members cast their votes in accordance with how their state votes. The size of each state delegation to the college is equal to the size of its congressional representation, which is based on the size of a state's population. For example, California, America's most populous state at almost 30 million, has the largest number of college members, 54, because it has 52 representatives and two senators.

It is tradition, not law, which dictates that the college members, who are elected by each state every



Source: the most recent state polls

four years, cast their votes in accordance with how the public voted in their state on a "winner takes all" basis. Technically, a presidential contender could win an election by securing the support of the 11 largest states alone, although no candidate has ever opted for such a risky strategy. It is also possible for the victor to win in the electoral college and yet have come second in the popular vote, although this has not happened since 1888.

Mr Clinton's strength is based on his commanding leads in California and New York, the two largest states, which have a combined college value of 87. Since the summer, the Republicans have virtually conceded both states. So the third and fourth largest states, Texas and Florida, which have a combined college value of 57, are crucial for Mr Bush. Texas has not voted Democrat in a presidential election for 16 years, and Florida has backed the Democrats only twice since 1952.

The depth of the disaffection with Mr Bush can be gauged by the uphill struggle he has faced in both

of his "must win" states. Mr Clinton and Mr Bush, who has lost support in both states to Ross Perot, have been neck and neck in Texas and Florida. A week ago, a poll in Texas suggested that Mr Clinton had pulled ahead, but in the past few days the president has had a late surge in the Lone Star state, where he could also benefit from voters defecting from Ross Perot at the last minute.

Even if the president has managed to take Texas, Florida and virtually the whole of the Deep South, he will not win unless he carries at least three of the six battleground states in the North East and Midwest. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, Missouri and Wisconsin are the northern battleground states of this election, and have been since the conventions in the summer. Illinois was another until the Republicans all but conceded there a few weeks ago. With the support of California, this year, the Grand Old Party has faced a tough battle in the south as Democrats have capitalised on their southern presidential ticket. Mr Clinton has been trying to copy Jimmy Carter's success by appealing to both southern blacks and poor southern whites. He has made strong headway in Georgia,

Louisiana and North Carolina — with Texas and Florida, these are the five southern battleground states. Mr Clinton should take Arkansas, his own home state, and Tennessee, the home state of his running mate, Al Gore. Georgia and North Carolina will be among the first states to declare results tonight if they turn Democrat, it will look like Mr Clinton's night.

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Would raise tax rates on individuals with earnings over \$55,550 and households with incomes over \$89,250 from 38 per cent to 33 per cent. Would raise tax on petrol.

Would set up a national board to oversee health budgets and institute reforms, including a basic benefit package for universal health insurance coverage.

Favours legalised abortion, federal funding for child sex education, abortions for poor women and wider adoption programmes.

Entered international position unilaterally without domestic economic reform. Pro-Israel, opposes deployment of ground troops in former Yugoslavia.

Would give top priority to eliminating the budget deficit. Supports large tax increases to reduce deficit. Would cut defence spending by \$754 billion over five years.

Would introduce mandatory life sentences without parole for people convicted of three violent crimes, and keep other prisoners in prison until they can develop useful skills.

Republican hopes low over Congress vote

Today also sees elections for the Senate and House of Representatives, and for state governors

America is choosing not just a president today. Though somewhat overshadowed, there are also important elections for all 435 seats in the House of Representatives, for 34 Senate seats and for 12 state governors.

After the Gulf war the Republicans had hopes of making gains in all these contests, but those hopes were dashed by President Bush's plummeting fortunes and Bill Clinton's lengthening "coast-tails". The question now is whether the Republican candidates, many of whom have studiously distanced themselves from Mr Bush, can avert a disaster for their party.

In the Senate, the upper chamber of the legislature, the Democrats presently have 57 seats to the Republicans' 43. A senator has a six-year term, and every two years one third comes up for election. The Democrats are defending 19 seats today, the Republicans 15. The Democrats will not win the ten extra seats that would give them the two-thirds of the vote needed to override presidential vetoes should

election every two years. In theory, strong anti-incumbent sentiment, a record number of retirements and the first favourable boundary changes this century (they are changed every ten years) should mean sweeping Republican gains. The party would then stand a chance of recapturing the House for the first time in decades in the 1994 elections.

But most analysts now believe that because of the recession and Mr Bush's unpopularity, the Republicans will be lucky to gain 15 seats. The House bank and post office scandals and four years of legislative gridlock have reduced public esteem for Congress to its lowest level ever, and many incumbents of both parties may be thrown out. That, allied with 91 retirements, primary defeats and deaths, means that the House is heading for its biggest turnover since 1948

at least. Up to a quarter of the next House may be freshmen, and record numbers of women, blacks and Hispanics.

Six of the 12 governors' races are in Democrat-held states and six in Republican-held states, but surveys suggest the Democrats could win as many as 11 of the contests. Indiana, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington and West Virginia all look likely to return Democrats to their governors' mansions.

Thomas Carper, presently a congressman, is expected to be the first Democrat to win Delaware since 1972. William Webster, the Missouri Attorney General who persuaded the supreme court to accept tough restrictions on abortion, could lose his gubernatorial bid to Mel Carnahan, Missouri's lieutenant governor. Democrats are also neck and neck with Republicans in Montana, North Carolina and the Republican bastion of New Hampshire.

MARTIN FLETCHER

pages and three diagrams to explain how it works. New Mexico uses a machine with both pointers and levers, but allows voters just three and a half minutes to make their choices. This causes many to follow the party line by pulling the Democratic or Republican super-lever, which flips all the little switches for the party preferences. It is not surprising more than half of America's voters stay at home.

KATE MUIR

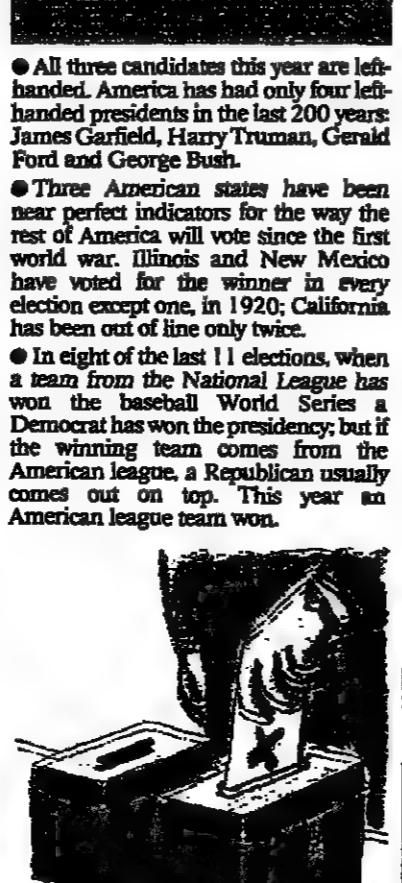
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• Ross Perot is not the smallest ever candidate for president: both James Madison (5ft 4in) and Benjamin Harrison (5ft 6in) were smaller. The taller candidate won 80 per cent of the 21 elections from 1904 to 1984.

• During this election, twice as many Republican staffers have been engaged in negative research as Democrats.

• Bill Clinton and Al Gore (combined age: 93) would be the youngest team ever to get to the White House.

• Vice President Dan Quayle has never lost an election: to maintain this winning streak, he visits the dentist immediately after voting. He has made an appointment with his dentist in Indiana.

VOTING IN THE LAND OF THE FREE IS peculiarly complicated. Nothing simple like putting a cross by one of three candidates' names. Instead the brave citizen enters a sort of Tardis and battles with the mysterious voting machine, which may ask for decisions on as many as 80 issues besides the presidency.

The system varies from state to state, but the basic drill is this: the voter enters a cardboard or wooden booth with a curtain. He or she faces a vast bank of switches or little

levers, labelled for each candidate and flicks one for every category. Then the voter pulls down a giant lever which simultaneously records all his preferences by punching holes in a cardboard ballot, and opens the booth curtain.

This year all votes include the presidency, Senate, House of Representatives and local positions such as school governors, local

councillors and neighbourhood commissioners. Then there are the ballot measures, state referendums on anything from the death penalty to murder to a box of ice cream.

The mechanical card-punching system was designed to stop ballot box stuffing (putting extra votes in), but results in its own difficulties in each state. In Nevada, for instance, the Votomatic machine has two

spirit
of the
unborn

Get to the

14/11/92

Spirit of the unborn

How much influence can a mother have on the psychology of a child in her womb? Victoria McKee reports

What does a living woman provide for a fetus that a brain-dead one, kept functioning as a sophisticated incubator, cannot?

In Germany Marion Ploch, the woman certified "brain dead" after a road accident four weeks ago, is being kept "alive" on a respirator in the hope of bringing her 18-week-old fetus close to term. The body is being turned at least ten times a day, and nurses are playing music tapes and talking for the benefit of the baby, using some of the techniques recommended by advocates of foetal "bathing", the education of the baby in the womb by external stimulation.

Beyond the moral and ethical debate about whether a body should be kept on a life support system for nearly five months for the sake of a baby, not yet viable outside the womb, are the questions about the role that a pregnant woman plays in the emotional and intellectual development of her child.

Dr Peter Hepper, a prenatal psychologist, will be speaking tomorrow on "Foetal psychology: an embryonic science", at the inaugural meeting of the Parent-Child Research Group at The Queen's University of Belfast, where the Ploch case is likely—unofficially—to be the focus of much debate. The group is the brainchild of Dr Hepper whose clinical experiments have proved that babies whose mothers had relaxed by watching *Neighbours* when pregnant were lulled into a state of alert content whenever the soap opera's theme song was played.

Improved scanning techniques mean that Dr Hepper's group has been able to observe apparent emotional responses in the fetus to sound stimulations. Anxiety is manifested in increased foetal heartbeats and movement. "It is a lot more difficult to say what a happy response would be, though," Dr Hepper says. He is frustrated by how insect a scientific foetal psychology is.

The period in the womb is the most rapid period of development in our lives, so it's very likely that the things that happen there will affect us for the rest of our lives, but we still have no real idea, in essence, of the role of the mother aside from the basic, physiological one," he says.

Professor Heideline Ais, of Harvard, a guest-speaker at the conference who will be giving a paper on "The neuro-behavioural development of the pre-term infant", considers the Ploch case "a very important natural experiment"—although the doctor in charge of it—Professor Johannes Scheele of the intensive care unit at the University Clinic in Erlangen, Germany—is adamant that his patient "will not be turned into an experiment".

Professor Ais believes that an infant and its mother are

usually in continuous complex co-regulation and that a full-term infant is programmed by the experience. "We studied a group of pre-term babies with no major medical problems and know that they are much more poorly coordinated. We want to know, when a fetus kicks in the womb, what does that trigger, hormonally, from the mother—and do certain of those reflexes remain in this [the Ploch] case? If so the fetus would be much better off than a pre-term baby placed in an incubator."

Dr Ais points out that a living mother gets anxious, her blood pressure fluctuates, she pours out neurotransmitters [chemicals] when her emotions change. She experiences sensations such as hunger and satisfaction, happiness and sadness. These are not only stresses for the fetus, they are also enabling. Without them, however much you stimulate a fetus externally something will be missing."

Dr Hepper says: "There is evidence that the mother provides a whole lot of growth factors when the baby is in the womb—and even in the case of this 'brain dead' mother she would probably be producing these basic hormones."

There is a general consensus that a certain amount of sensory stimulation is necessary for the normal development of a fetus. Dr Hepper says: "Both animal and human studies have shown that deprived sensory input to the fetus leads to physical and psychological abnormalities after birth. Babies of mine mothers, for example, have a strange cry." This stimulation is usually provided normally by the mother.

Professor Scheele—not a neo-natal expert but the spokesman for the surgeons caring for Marion Ploch—says he has a letter from the family of a child, now eight, who was born after her mother had been "dead" for two and a half months—"and the child is happy and healthy".

In Britain, Nicola Bell was born two months premature in 1986 after her mother had been on a life support system for 39 days having suffered a brain haemorrhage. Nicola's father Ian has said that she is a happy child, although she has mild cerebral palsy which slightly mars her coordination.

This week's *British Medical Journal*, reporting on the Ploch case, says: "There are four known cases of mothers giving birth to a child in similar circumstances, the first in 1984 in Finland. The others were in Britain, the United States and one as yet unpublished case in Germany. All four children were born without complications and are said to be in good health. In none of the cases, however, had the mothers been ventilated at such an early stage of pregnancy."



Full of beans: Nicola Bell with her father Ian in 1990. Her mother was kept on a life-support system for 39 days

Commenting on Nicola Bell's condition, Dr Hepper says: "We still don't understand the causes of cerebral palsy, but you could extrapolate and say that if there wasn't adequate motor stimulation for the baby it is very possible that its own motor coordination would be affected."

Dr Ludwig Jämsä, the president of the German section of the international society for prenatal and perinatal psychology and medicine says he thinks it is necessary to try to effect an emotional relationship with the baby, even from the outside "so that the baby can feel this contact, and feel after birth if he or she is liked or not liked".

Dr René Van de Carr who runs a "prenatal university" in California, is encouraging about the effects of external stimulation. "We have some evidence that babies who are stimulated in this way become very social and more able to relate to other people from the start. This baby doesn't have to feel it in a black hole if people make an attempt to interact with it."

Life, the anti-abortion organisation, does not believe that the death of the mother during pregnancy need be very significant to the baby's future well-being. Nuala Scarsbrick, Life's founder, said: "I don't know how any of us know what's gone on in the womb." Mrs Scarsbrick says, "but many people's lives are determined by what goes on after birth. My feeling is that the doctors should do what they can to help the baby being born since nothing, alas, can help the mother and there's a welcome waiting from the grandparents."

However, David Jones, a British psychologist and psychotherapist who has worked in California with William Emerson, the pioneer of regression therapy, thinks that that the Ploch baby will be born seriously psychologically deprived. "When Emerson takes people back they remember things that happened to them in the womb, and I think a fetus does get a sense of the environment it is in—whether or not there's a sense of excitement around."

To some extent, Dr Hepper agrees. There is evidence that the babies of mothers who have experienced severe stress have greater obstetric problems during delivery," he says, "but who is to say whether this is due to the mother or the baby?"

Get to the top – and relax

DOCTORS used to think that "executive stress" led to heart attacks. But opinion is changing. Doctors are redefining the effects of stress in the wake of new evidence that it can be good for you.

Recent findings suggest that company bosses have a lower risk of suffering a heart attack than their employees, even though they may be under greater stress, because they have more control of their lives.

A *Which?* report, called *Understanding Stress*, says the key issue is not how stress can be avoided, but how it can be managed and used positively. With no pressure or demands on us, it would be hard to get going at all.

Early results from a study of over 10,000 civil servants who have been followed for the past six years show that social differences in heart attack rates have continued unabated since they were first noted in a study 20 years ago. Those in the lowest grade—porters, cleaners and messengers—suffered three times as many attacks as the desk-bound administrators in the highest grade.

While business executives may once have been at higher risk of negative stress, for example in the Depression

Stress can be good for you, if you're in charge

feel constantly under pressure, are at greater risk than the more-relaxed "Type B" is not supported by the evidence. Pressure at work is not a problem for those in control. According to Professor Marmot, a high-stress occupation is now defined as one which makes great demands, and in which the person does not feel in charge of what he or she is doing.

People who show more hostility are at greater risk, but it is not clear whether the hostility is innate or related to the frustrations of the job. Psychologists have long known that "psychic wages", related to job satisfaction, are almost as important as the pecuniary kind. There is increasing interest among personnel directors in the notion of the "virtuous company", which seeks explicitly to promote the welfare of its employees.

According to the study, about a quarter of the difference between those at high and low risk of heart disease can be accounted for in terms of differences in smoking habits, cholesterol levels and exercise. Those in the lower grades tended to smoke more, follow poorer diets and exercise less. But the remaining three-quarters of the difference is unexplained.

A £500,000 British Heart Foundation study will test the theory that the degree of personal autonomy at work is the missing factor. An early theory that so-called "Type A" people, who rush around doing three jobs at once and

JEREMY LAURANCE

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JEREMY LAURANCE

In a world of our own

I blame the dot, dot, dot at the end of, say, a Mills & Boon: the little row of dots which would have us believe that after the courtship and the chase which unites two human beings, all is plain sailing.

We persist in venerating the myth of lifelong marriage and long-term loving relationships when very little supports the notion. Yet even those who have experienced failure go looking for it again and restart the game with a new partner.

Much is written about why relationships do not work, but little celebrates the couples who have cracked it. A slim yet powerful volume edited by Roger Housden and Chloe Goodchild, called *We Two* (Aquarian Press, £7.99) does precisely that. It contains the accounts of eight long-married couples—some married, some not married, some re-married—all over 40.

The book does not contain 101 techniques or tricks, or offer a single solution. Each half of each couple offers his or her own view from inside a living, lasting relationship.

Each traveller has been invited to plot certain events and cross points on the pilgrimage. Why is monogamy important (or not)? How do you respond to feelings of jealousy and betrayal? Do you ever feel conflict between your individual sense of purpose and your identity within the relationship? What makes your relationship alive?

Each response is a revelation in its frankness and intimacy. And the aspirations and definitions defy each other deliciously. "I wanted to grow old with this man," says one. According to another: "I believed that the act of marriage, in itself, was bad for relationships."

The outer forms of marriage or partnership represented vary vastly: some have sacrificed a lifestyle, remained and revised their lives to work together. Others have found their best closeness by sleeping in different bedrooms or living in different homes.

A simon strand of sexuality threads its way through all the accounts. "There is the pleasure bond," says 67-year-old Rabbi Zalman Schachter, "the mutual collusion to give each other delight." His partner, Eve Penner Eisen, 25 years his junior, lovingly describes him in winter, in the middle of undressing for a romantic



DAVINA LLOYD

interlude, and there he stands, in his undershirt with the ritual fringes skull cap, knit leg-warmers, and I think, 'God, is he cute!' Of course, he calls the dishevelled woman with the greying hair, round belly and ample rear, beautiful. We're neither blind, so this must be true love."

The poet and novelist Penelope Shuttle reveals that she and her partner, if they can so arrange their day, "love to spend at least two-and-a-half hours making love". Michael Scott, now over 60, offers another perspective: "The touching of hands, the stroking of a cheek, a gentle kiss; how could the 25-year-old Michael have known the treat in store for him in his oldish age? The temple of Eros has many chambers."

If the couples advocate a monogamy, From the vantage point of an enduring relationship—some previous challenged by explorations and diversions outside that relationship—they have come to agree that sexual exclusivity is a keystone of trust and therefore freedom within the partnership. "Sure, I've suffered sexual jealousy," Robert Ansell, a former criminal trial lawyer, writes, "but never for more than 16 or 17 hours a day... A relationship without trust is a treaty, not a marriage."

This collection of personal route maps offers signposts and landmarks to all those who have reached an interval in their relationship, those who seek the "quiet and constant passion" of continuing coupledom and would like to be able to say, "If we have reached half-time in our game together, I feel that we have the best half to come".

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Lynne Truss

■ We all start to whistle Colonel Bogey and remember the blitz when the IRA bomb London

A couple of weeks ago, in the aftermath of the St Martin's Lane pub bomb, a senior policeman spoke on the six o'clock news about the need for calm. It was the usual sort of thing. Be vigilant, he said; but on no account allow the bombers to change the way you live your normal life. "OK," I said, encouraged. "It's a deal." And as I switched off the telly, I suddenly felt all warm inside about how brave I was going to be, in the run-up to Christmas — carrying on living my normal life despite the bombs. "Don't worry, Mr Policeman," I said. "I will not cancel my pet-care evening class on a Thursday. I know my duty as a Brit."

Flattery usually makes me nervous; but flattery my British moral fibre, my essential stoical pluck, and in common with most people I accept the tribute graciously, as though I have ever done anything in my life remotely to deserve it. Somehow I know the litany of the blitz — Are we downhearted? We are not downhearted. We would not give them the satisfaction. And I run through it automatically, whenever the occasion demands, without pausing to think how peculiar it is. How is it that one's attendance at an evening class in pet-murine can suddenly seem like an act of heroic defiance, like something from *Bridge on the River Kwai*? As I emerge from the tube in the evenings, I find myself whistling "Colonel Bogey" — which is deeply odd, actually, because normally I can't whistle.

"Don't let them change the way you live your normal life." Hm. It was a clever appeal to make, because it makes you feel good, while at the same time being virtually meaningless. For one thing, how will this policeman be able to tell whether Londoners are being stoical or not, when they always look so bloody miserable in the first place? Ask the average Londoner: "Are you downhearted?" and he will first pretend he hasn't heard, and then tell you to push off. I mean, it is not as though London normally full of happy dancing people. This is not nearly built on hope and wafted by angels' wings. It is despair, with pavements. Of course Londoners can follow the policeman's injunction to ignore the bombs; but only because an ability to ignore every aspect of one's environment is the first requirement of living here. The funny thing about the bombing campaign, I reflected (while unconsciously picking my way through some wet rubbish and wiping my shoe on a homeless person), is that the bombers seriously think to disrupt this city by importing misery to it. Ha ha, some joke. London absorbs more misery every day than is dreamt of in any bomber's wildest philosophy.

The only surefire way for terrorists to clear the streets in London would be for them to dress up as over-sized Easter Bunnies and distribute presents on street corners. The shock to the system would be devastating. We would scream, hide, refuse to come out, and beg the government to capitulate at once.

But bomb us, and we shrug. We behave normally because there is no practical alternative. As Martin Luther might have said: "Here I stand, on the Northern Line; I can do no other." One is sometimes amazed at the way other people, in far-off places, continue to live normal lives under what appear to be impossible circumstances. But do we admire them for their pluck? Well, not always. The idea that in South Africa white women sit around reading magazine articles about cellulite reduction, when they should surely be devoting some serious thought to emigrating, makes me consider them stupid, not brave. Similarly, I recently saw a television film about a rich Lebanese Christian family who refused to leave their big house in Beirut at the peak of the shelling — and I must say I thought they were rather stupid too. In the end, if we follow the official advice about behaving normally, it is because: a) it doesn't require effort; b) we can't think of anything else; and c) it is a normal human reaction anyway, which we take pride in at our peril. So, are we downhearted? Well, to be honest, I am a bit now. I keep trying to whistle "Colonel Bogey", but the sound won't come out.

Any woman but her

NOT only the Tory rebels are holding John Major to ransom. Some of the most powerful women in Europe have successfully called the beleaguered prime minister's bluff. They believe that Major is failing to take the first EC summit for women ministers seriously.

The summit, "Women in Power", which is being held in Athens today and tomorrow, will feature such famous names as Melina Mercouri, Edith Cresson, and Simone Veil, former president of the European Parliament. Gillian Shephard, the employment minister, was originally expected to fly the flag for Britain. But with the British government in its current state of unrest, the Tory whips were taking no chances. Even though Mrs Shephard would have had time to fly back from Athens for the Maastricht vote, she has been blocked from going.

On hearing the news Dame Angela Rumbold duly cleared her diary. But she too was asked to stay at home. The message went out to the European Women's Network, which is organising the two-day summit, that there would be no senior British representative. Incensed, the organisers launched a

The way men close ranks against talented women hurts business, says Janet Daley

Why women can't beat the system

Forget about nurseries, flexitime and maternity leave. The real obstacle to women's advancement, says the Institute of Management, is bloody-minded, self-satisfied male prejudice. If you are a working woman, you may wonder why it took a major research project to discover this. For those of you who have been dumbfounded by the irrational behaviour of your male superiors, I offer my personal key to masculine logic in the workplace.

Men have three sacred principles which govern them: account for most of their actions. Or, just as often, for their inaction. One of the great myths of male management is that men are decisive. Most women are driven wild by the procrastination and vacillation of their male bosses who, in spite of being chronically irresponsible, insist on clutching every shred of decision-making power to their dietholing bosoms.

Which brings me nicely to the First Principle of Male Management: look after number one. The interests of your institution, the public, the consumer, the country, even the world if the remit of your occupation extends that far, must always take second place to the protection of your own position.

Hence the importance of avoiding an unambiguous commitment to any one option for as long as possible, and never doing anything which might rebound on you in some future reckoning. If I stress the deliberate deviousness of this conduct, it is only in the interests of demystification. In the higher reaches of professional life where men are articulate enough to conceal their real motives, such behaviour can look simply like obtuseness or even, when very adroitly practised, to be a by-product of virtuous over-work.

More than anything else, it is this self-centredness which makes for resentment and misunderstanding between the sexes at work and, by making women appear reproachable and naive, it contributes to the feeling that they are outsiders to the system. Women seem to be almost constitutionally incapable of disregarding their responsibilities to other people. It has never occurred to me, nor to most of the women I have worked with, not to keep my

professional word. If I undertake to carry out a task then, short of life-threatening mitigating circumstances, I will do so. Whereas the men with whom I have shared my working life seem to run on another assumption altogether: they will fulfil their promised duties — attend the meeting, return the phone call — as long as nothing better comes up.

Failing to do what they said they would carry out is anxiety or guilt, and nothing irritates them more than being upbraided by a woman who actually took them at their word. What is more, any chaos that ensues from this shambolic attitude to commitments is forgiven by other men at work in the spirit of the Second Principle of Male Management: don't show up the other chaps.

This rule is adopted wholesale from public-school life which is the spiritual home of all professional male behaviour even when the participants have never seen the inside of a dormitory. Not for nothing does the IoM survey talk of "the men's club" as being the inhibitor of female advancement.

Every aspect of British life which truly matters is run as a club, the unstated rules of which are acquired by a mystical process of induction. The more those rules run counter to common sense and natural human inclination, the more useful they are as a way of sorting the initiates from the *ingenues*.

Being more assiduous, more honest, more reliable, more anything of value to the organization, than your colleagues is disloyal and disruptive. Over-eager outsiders all fall foul of this self-defeating canon of the British workplace but women find it particularly hard to overcome the childhood imperative to be good girls whose work is beyond criticism.

Most of the IoM research findings about how little men rate women's management skills are depressingly predictable, but at least one point is worth exploring. One reason, it

seems, why women lose out in the top management stakes is that they tend to start from what the report calls, "the wrong jobs". The fields where women are strongest are personnel, training, education and administration. Only 1 per cent of the female staff located by the survey were in manufacturing or production. Women suffered by being associated with people-centred rather than thing-centred activity, which brings me to the Third Principle of Male Management: avoid human involvement at all costs. To be as great an extent as possible, treat people like things which are either functional or dysfunctional. This preference of the male British manager for the inanimate, and his consequent ineptness at dealing with human beings, has had notorious consequences for industrial relations and the economy. But in spite of this, it seems to occur to no one that the people-handling skills of women might be of use in higher management.

Taken together, what the three principles produce is the classic disastrous manager: obsessed with playing the game and sucking up to his superiors, regarding his colleagues with sly competitiveness and his underlings with dehumanised indifference. Women can scarcely need management jobs more than management needs them.

Vote Yes

**Woodrow Wyatt
on why Tories
should back the
prime minister**

LABOUR leaders on Wednesday will try to precipitate an election by defeating Mr Major. The European Communities (Amendment) Bill, Maastricht for short, passed its second reading after the last election with a majority of 244. Many Labour MPs voted for Labour's official pro-Maastricht policy. The motion on Wednesday merely invites the government to proceed with the Bill in order that the House should consider its provisions in further detail". Logically, Labour voting against means wishing the bill to lapse. Labour is keener on Maastricht than the government, wanting to reverse the social chapter opt-out.

Labour discredits itself by such unprincipled and uninterested behaviour. Defeating Mr Major would weaken him within his own party, but not provoke an election. A motion of confidence the next day would be won by the government. Tory MPs intending to vote with Labour are muddled. Some would like the prime minister to resign and promptly elect a new leader. Lady Thatcher has made it abundantly clear that she would not return. Other plausible candidates would probably be more enthusiastic for closer EC integration than Mr Major.

This would not appeal to the anti-European fanatics who have subordinated their reason to their emotions. Like almost everyone, they resent the unnecessary interference of Brussels, down to telling us we may no longer shoot pigeons or sell homemade jam at Women's Institute functions. These absurdities arise from the powers Brussels assumed following the Single Market Act, energetically piloted through by Mrs Thatcher herself. They have nothing to do with Maastricht.

On the contrary, it is solely through the Treaty that they can be ended and that further attempts by an overbearing Brussels to squash national identities be prevented. Mr Major battles with growing success to ensure that the Treaty contains a rolling back of Brussels' bureaucracy. Only two more days on the Treaty are planned in the Commons before the December summit meeting. The really thorough line-by-line examination of the bill will not begin until the new year or be completed before April. Mr Major is able to say at Edinburgh that unless the other ten produce a legally binding formula acceptable to us and the Danes there will be no Treaty at all; one dissenter can block it.

A Maastricht treaty that decentralised Brussels would have considerable advantages. Without it we will not get the beefed-up court of auditors for the first time able to examine governments on fraud within their domain against the CAP and other EC institutions, imposing hefty penalties against offending countries; and the much needed examination of overspending and misuse of the EC budget in Brussels itself. Nor will there be the new powers to punish countries not observing EC directives as we do. Maastricht does not slide us to federalism, a single currency, obedience to a central bank or a return to the ERM. Tories who reject Mr Major tomorrow are fools as well as disloyal.

Miracle that never was

What can still be salvaged from the 1980s dash for growth, asks Peter Riddell

If cabinet ministers can spare a moment this week from agonising about public spending and the number of Tory rebels at the end of tomorrow's Commons debate, they should dip into Nigel Lawson's mammoth new memoir, *The View from Number 11*. This is not for either consolation or diversion: there is little of the former, though plenty of the latter. Rather, it would remind them of why they are sitting round the cabinet table. The central question now is not just whether John Major can survive, but about what the government is trying to achieve. Have the goals of the Thatcher era been abandoned? Were the battles of the 1980s so faithfully recorded by Lord Lawson, in vain?

Extraordinary though it now seems, Lord Lawson and other ministers talked as recently as March 1988 about Britain enjoying an economic miracle comparable to West Germany in the 1950s and Japan in the 1970s. He now regrets referring to such a miracle. In a BBC interview he said he was carried away in an after-dinner speech winding up a debate; besides, everybody else was saying it. Lord Lawson was being unduly reticent. His mention of a miracle was less casual than he suggests, while the claim had been made three days before by his deputy, one John Major.

Today, in Europe, we are the economic miracle." Britain, Mr Major said, was "in an excellent position to withstand any economic shocks from whatever quarter they may come." Most untrue, as Jeeves, and Willie Whitelaw, would no doubt have warned, ever watchful for the dangers of hubris.

Memoir writers and reviewers can allocate blame for what

went wrong and why. A more pertinent question is whether anything can be rescued from the wreckage. At present, a curious coalition of embittered Thatchers and their long-term critics see little but disaster. Pessimism is in fashion. The Thatchers see a betrayal of their Leader's works by her successors, while her opponents argue that their warnings have been vindicated. The latter case has been put, with characteristic elegance and erudition, by Ian Gilmour in his new book, *Dancing with Dogma*. He argues that "The sacrifice imposed upon the poor produced nothing miraculous except for the rich. Instead of experiencing an economic miracle, Britain experienced the lowest growth rate since the war. The jingo to the right caused social retreat without economic advance."

The economic case which Lord Lawson and Mr Major made in 1988 — a budget surplus, a better growth record and a faster decline in unemployment than in the rest of Europe — now has an embarrassing period flavour. But not everything has been lost. For all the short-term gloom, the industrial scene is very different from the late 1970s, in part following the squeeze of the early 1980s but also as a result of various supply-side measures. Some of the reforms have become entrenched — for instance, the curb on the role of trade unions, and privatisation of three-fifths of previously state owned industries. There was a change in the behaviour of management and a revival of enterprise in the 1980s.

The challenge for the cabinet now is not just to survive the next few days and weeks in the Commons, but to formulate a strategy which will preserve these advances despite the pressures of the recession. Lord Lawson has disputed the need for a change of direction: "what was called for was essentially more of the same". In his view that means more privatisation, more tax reform, and a firm grip on public spending, plus reforms which were too radical for the Thatcher regime, such as

raising the state pension age and further improvements in the working of the labour market. Some of this thinking is reflected in the current legislative programme, and in changes in public services such as health and education.

What is in doubt now is whether the Major cabinet can match the energy of Lady Thatcher and the coherence and single-mindedness of Lord Lawson and Lord Howe — whether the preoccupation with the short-term will undermine these longer-term goals. The mistakes of the 1980s and early 1990s, in macroeconomic policy, as well as the confused nature of some of the privatisations and the neglect of infrastructure, will take a long time to remedy. In reaction to these failures, there is now a demand, both here and in America, for more active government. Today's presidential election could be seen as a turning point, away from the goals and policies of the 1980s.

The turmoil of the last six weeks has weakened the government's political will, whatever

happens at the end of tomorrow's European debate. The retreat over pit closures has revived the battered self-confidence of the trade unions and made them more likely to challenge any public-sector pay freeze or squeeze.

Moreover, as Lord Lawson writes, "the prolonged pre-election period had seen a worrying discretionary relaxation of public spending control." This week's cabinet debate about spending is likely at most to slow the rise in public borrowing. The deterioration in the underlying structural deficit since the late 1980s may hardly be touched.

Lord Lawson says he has "no doubt" that the substantial achievements of the Thatcher era will survive its sad and messy disintegration — and indeed, in the perspective of history, will become even more apparent." The medium-term verdict may be less generous since Lady Thatcher and Lord Lawson's successors are back to coping with the familiar dilemmas of the 1960s and 1970s. Britain's relative decline,

avoids political debate with his redoubtable mother, who has been a US citizen for 20 years. "We have had all sorts of vigorous discussions but my father always taught me never to interfere in another country's politics," Churchill says.

• WHOEVER wins today's American presidential election, the British consulate in Miami will be able to celebrate in style. The consulate, which has a diplomatic staff of three — the consul, Philip Grice, and his two deputies — has just placed an order for more than \$2,000 worth of drinks. The extensive list includes various vintages from Mouton to Macon, two cases of Bacardi, one of Baileys, as well as 27 cases of Coors beer.

Gaudete in igitur
THE RESULT of the American election is being awaited with particular interest at Oxford, where it is already being assumed that the university will have produced its first president in the former Rhodes scholar, Bill Clinton.

Clinton has much to be grateful for. A few weeks ago Harriman hosted a fundraising reception in Virginia. It was expected to attract 800 guests and raise \$1 million. Instead 1,300 turned up and the Democrat coffers were boosted by \$3.5 million. But Churchill, a Republican sympathiser, sensibly

later this month — and the expected £30,000 proceeds will go no further than the receiver's purse.

The cellar, which includes an excellent Mouton Rothschild 1945, several bottles of Château Margaux 1961 and a La Mission 1921, is said to be a reasonable "entertaining cellar," by Michael Egan, the Sotheby's expert who has been assembling the vintages for auction. "The better bottles will probably reach a reasonable sum, partly because of their previous owner," he says. The fact that a mere nine bottles of Dom Pérignon remain will surprise few of those who knew Maxwell. A bottle of the champagne was almost permanently at his side, and was only rarely offered to guests.

Talking It Over by Julian Barnes (right) is hot favourite for the "stranger" section of the annual Prix Femina, to be announced on November 16. The award, founded in 1904 and worth £15,000 (£630), was won in the 1920s by Marguerite Radclyffe Hall (left) for her book *Adam's Breed*, although she is better known for *The Well of Loneliness*.

US flag, however, is causing problems for masters of protocol. Should it be hung above or below the college flag? "We are still not sure where it should go, but hopefully a decision will be made by this evening," says Owen Thomas, the JCR president. The 30 or so American students at the college are unlikely to leave it at that. "They are expected to host an informal gathering among themselves," Thomas says, dryly.

Vintage Maxwell

THE late and not so lamented Robert Maxwell always had a penchant for fine wine. He would be less than pleased to learn that the bulk of his cellar from Headington Hill Hall is to be sold at auction



of the great wartime leader will be on tenterhooks tomorrow, because the outcome of the US presidential election is likely to impinge directly on his former family. Churchill's mother Pamela Harriman, 72, one of the Democrats' most successful fundraisers, is in line for a top post in a Clinton administration.

Churchill, who spoke to his mother on the telephone yesterday, rules out a London posting. But the Tory MP for Davyhulme believes she could be ambassador to another foreign capital.

Clinton has much to be grateful for. A few weeks ago Harriman hosted a fundraising reception in Virginia.

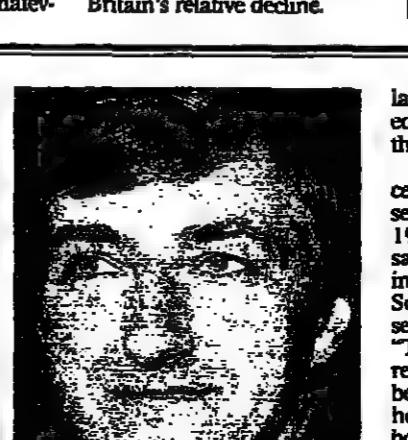
It was expected to attract 800 guests and raise \$1 million.

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But Churchill, a Republican sympathiser, sensibly



Julian Barnes



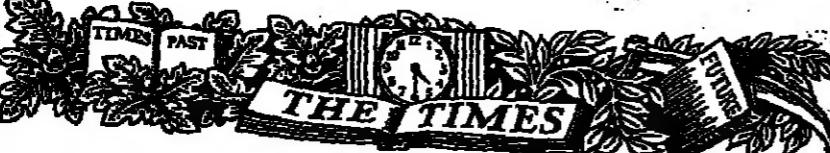
Marguerite Radclyffe Hall



Bob had a pension for good wines

**Vote
Yes.**

Woodrow Wilson
on why
should bad
prime minister
be allowed
to stay in
office?



ENVY, GREED OR PRIDE?

The choice is for Americans to make today

After a bizarre election year filled with marijuana-and-mistress allegations against Bill Clinton, rescue bids for George Bush by Arnold Schwarzenegger, a paranoid billionaire and the triumph of the talk-show, the race for the White House is over. As the great political couplet runs, "the battle's set 'twixt Envy, Greed and Pride. Come Conscience, do your duty: choose your side". Today American voters must make that choice.

If the opinion polls are to be believed (and who does these days?) the winner will be Envy, the Democrat. If the President is to be believed (not an easy task), the winner will be Greed, the Republican. If the independent outsider wins 50 states, as he says he will, it is Pride that will have carried Ross Perot all the way to the White House.

All three candidates would vigorously contest these characterisations of themselves. Each has spent the campaign in a dizzying political ballet, attempting to persuade voters that they are not what they seem.

Bill Clinton, one of the most accomplished illusionists ever to mount a soapbox, has assured millions of his fellow citizens that his new Democratic party is different from the high-taxing, high-spending hate-the-rich party that has so frequently and spectacularly lost presidential races since the Sixties. Change is his mantra; change for his party and his country.

Governor Clinton has a genuinely good side. He has worked hard on how government can be reformed and reduced. He has seen that the direction of history is towards less oppressive rule, and he has thought more than most about how history can be made to work for America. In his entourage, however, walks a vast army of mendicants for whom presidential power, added to the powers of the Democrat-controlled Congress, is an invitation to pillage from the public purse, pile deficits upon deficits and intervene in business and commerce before breakfast, lunch, dinner and meals of which not even Michael Heseltine has ever heard.

Bill Clinton will probably win. But the United States will not know whether old Democratic Envy has been truly defeated until it is too late.

Pride is not going to triumph at today's poll. Mr Perot is perhaps as proud a man as has ever bid for the White House — and that is a victory against stiff competition. He was also correct in assessing the anger and frustration of voters as they hesitated between the Arkansas conjuror and the carefree aristocrat of Kennebunkport, Maine. But Mr Perot's arrogance and impetuosity, illustrated by his decision to leave the race in July and to return to it only a few weeks ago, damaged any real chance he ever had of making a difference.

George Bush is not, himself, a greedy man. He is charged by the electorate, however, with ruling America, as vice-president and president, through the "greed decade" of the 1980s. Of all the men in the Reagan entourage, Mr Bush was always one of the most sceptical that borrowing and tax-cutting could provide the way out of economic gloom. But he never won an economic argument in the Reagan years and in his own Bush years he barely ever conducted one.

He gratefully gave the task of economic management to friends (such as treasury secretary Nicholas Brady) who reassured him and fine-tuners (such as budget director Richard Darman) who frightened him with figures. During the Republican primaries at the beginning of this year, he withstood the attacks of right-wing critics in full confidence that recession would turn to recovery and that no further action (or even sign of action) would be needed. He was wrong. If he loses the election today, it will be because he never consistently tried to replace his party's reputation for Greed. He had a foreign policy because he sincerely believed he needed one; he never set a domestic agenda because he believed, just as sincerely, that it was unnecessary.

PRINCIPLES AND PRAGMATISM

The Liberal Democrats should abstain tomorrow

An essential duty of opposition is to embarrass the government. On just such grounds John Smith has been able to justify Labour's voting against the government in tomorrow's paving debate. Though his party agrees with the thrust of the motion, the vote is seen as one of confidence in John Major's leadership, and he has no intention of propping up the prime minister.

Yet the Liberal Democrat whose support is critical will vote for the motion. If the government wins, Mr Major will have Paddy Ashdown to thank. Mr Ashdown seems to subscribe to George Lansbury's notion of opposition: that the party should as far as possible be scrupulous in doing in opposition what it would do in government.

It is of course a luxury of third party politics that principle can come before pragmatism. Nobody expects Mr Ashdown to be the next prime minister. Doubtless many of his supporters will be furious that he has thrown up the opportunity to do grave damage to the government. But then Liberal Democrat supporters are themselves a fickle lot, many of them voting for the third party simply as a way of registering disaffection with Labour or the Conservatives.

It is understandable that Mr Ashdown does not feel able to vote against the motion. More than any other party, the Liberal Democrats have been the party of Europe. Federalism is not a dirty word to Lib Dem ears. Mr Ashdown has exhorted Mr Major to stand up to his backbenchers over Maastricht. Now that the prime minister has followed his advice, it would be difficult to vote against.

It would, however, be easy to abstain. The motion is totally empty. The first four phrases simply "note" or "acknowledge" and the facts they note are not in dispute. The Maastricht bill did win a majority on its second reading. The House was promised a debate, the Danish government's intentions have been clarified, and so on.

The last two phrases, those that are supposed to be "substantive" are as woolly as a sheep. The House is asked to recognise that "the UK should play a leading role in the development of the European Community to achieve a free market Europe open to accession by other European democracies, thereby promoting employment, prosperity and investment into the UK". Yet the free-market Europe is already being achieved through the single market without the need for Maastricht. And widening of the EC is arguably easier without Maastricht. How could Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia be expected to accede to a single currency if even Sweden has difficulty tying its currency to the mark?

Finally, MPs are asked to invite the government to proceed with the bill "in order that the House should consider its provisions in further detail". That is uncontroversial too. There is no time limit, and the phrase simply confirms what the second reading already put in motion.

What Mr Ashdown is doing may be fine and admirable. But he might stop to reflect that Lansbury led the Labour party in opposition for only four years. He then resigned on a matter of principle without ever becoming prime minister.

THE PRISTINE NOEL

Musically correct hands off those soppy old Christmas carols

Christmas comes, but once a year is enough. Scarcely into November, and the publishing industry already has its Christmas rubbish displayed on the bookstalls. Launched this week, however, is a bulky tome that challenges the very nature of the Christmas that the British know and love — or more truly dread. *The New Oxford Book of Carols* employs the sharpest tools of modern musical research to persuade people that they have been singing the familiar noels wrong all these years. Apparently they are using the wrong rhythms and the wrong tunes, or the right tunes turned inside-out, or clogged up by bowdlerised texts and anachronistic 19th-century harmonies.

Scholarly eyebrows have even been raised over such apparently authentic "old English" carols as "The Holly and the Ivy": the Oxford editors detect a whiff of bogus quaintness about those references to merry organs and "sweet singing in the choir". "Incoherent and oddly irrelevant", they solemnly declare. And they unsportingly point out that "Good King Wenceslas" — cobbled together in the 19th century — is as likely a source of reliable information about the life of the tenth-century Bohemian despot, Vaclav the Good, as *The Wind in the Willows* is about the mating habits of moles.

Bring back the robust musical style and stony metaphors of our Tudor forebears, say the Oxford editors. Away with all this cloying Victorian sentimentality. Instead of beginning the carol service with Mrs Alexander's incomparably gloomy "Once in Royal

David's City", why not open with a snappy ditty from the 15th century, perhaps "What tyndyngs bringest thou, messangere"?

Such high idealism is beyond reproach. But the small boys who rap on front doors, bawl out two lines of "Away in a Manger" on a gruesome monotone, and then demand 50p in a snarl, will be unmoved by this plea for greater scholarship.

Christmas carols are the only songs that most unmusical Britons can sing, besides "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "Land of Hope and Glory" — and then they have to rhubarb for most of the words. Oxford's musically-correct revision to the pristine in carols, as has been seen in other genres of music, misunderstands the recent raft but vernacular British notion of Christmas. In spite of its vulgarity and hedonism, it is one of the few binding common factors in the national equation.

If the British started removing all the inventions of sentimental Victorians and later generations from their notion of Christmas, what would be left? Gone would be the pudding, the turkey, mince pies, the Christmas tree (introduced to England by no less a celeb than Prince Albert, or was it Queen Caroline?), Christmas cards, outrageously priced computer games for children to demand as "stocking-fillers" (what was wrong with walnuts and tangerines?), *White Christmas* yet again on the television and *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* played endlessly on the radio. Perhaps those Oxford scholars are on the right lines after all.

Yours faithfully,
R. B. CHRISTIE
(Clinical and Technical Affairs
Director — Europe,
Amour Pharmaceutical Co. Ltd.,
RPR House,
52 St Leonards Road,
Eastbourne, East Sussex
October 27.

Support for PM from Strasbourg

From Mr Christopher Jackson, MEP for Kent East (European People's Conservative), and others

Sir, Over the last few months the government's economic policy has moved substantially in the right direction. In particular we believe it was right to abandon one-dimensional rules involving a single intermediate target in favour of a more discretionary approach, with the primary aim of ending the recession.

The treaty was hailed as a great triumph for our prime minister when he brought it back to the House of Commons. It was a triumph. He negotiated out the potentially costly social chapter and negotiated an option to the European currency if and when the House of Commons deems that desirable.

Far from being "a treaty too far", Maastricht addresses precisely those problems about which people complain. It was given a clear majority on second reading. It was in the Conservative manifesto. The Danes are set to come back on board on terms similar to those far-sightedly negotiated by John Major. For Britain it is constitutionally far less important than the Single European Act.

These should be powerful arguments to those colleagues in the House of Commons who still hesitate. Rejection would severely weaken our negotiating ability over free markets and enlargement, and if this happened those latent forces of nationalism which have been the historic bone of Europe would receive a boost.

The Maastricht treaty is not perfect, but it is a real advance. To reject it would be a national disaster.

Yours faithfully,
CHRISTOPHER JACKSON
(Kent East)

PAUL HOWELL (Norfolk),
BILL NEWTON DUNN
(Lincolnshire)

BEN PATTERSON (Kent West),
As from The European Parliament,
Palais de l'Europe,
Strasbourg.
November 2.

From Mr S. T. Eason

Sir, How many referendums on Maastricht must the Danes be allowed before the British are allowed one?

Yours faithfully,
S. T. EASON

10 King Edward Close,
Christ's Hospital,
Horsham, West Sussex

October 29.

Women priests

From Mr John Marshall

Sir, According to your leader, "The priestly vocation" (October 30), the Church is supposed to have told Florence Nightingale to go and do crochet in her mother's drawing room when she offered her services. The Church, of course, said no such thing: it actually told her to go and do a woman's work. To her very great credit, Florence Nightingale added a new dimension to what a woman's work might be.

Mother Teresa follows in this same tradition: so do some Kenyan religious sisters I saw packing their bags for a lifetime's service in Brazil; and so too, perhaps more wonderfully still, some French sisters I came across some years ago ministering to Muslim women in the backstreets of Cairo — a ministry which no male religious could perform.

If a new pope does have "a different view on women priests", as you suggest, it will, you can be sure, take into account something which your leader fails to do: the role that those mentioned above and thousands of other courageous women take on, as religious sisters, Catholic and Anglican, and not just the role currently occupied by ordained women deacons.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN MARSHALL

7 Mount Terrace,

Mount Street,

Taunton, Somerset

October 30.

Blood with safety

From Mr R. B. Christie

Sir, You quote Dr Richard Dawood ("Clean bill of health for new blood", October 27) as saying that there is "a remote chance of getting HIV from American blood". He appears to be referring to transfusions of whole blood, not to infusion of blood products derived from screened American plasma.

Many patients in the United Kingdom, particularly those suffering from haemophilia, have been treated for at least three years successfully and safely with blood products of American origin.

Standards are at least as rigorous as those applied in the United Kingdom and the risks of infection are no greater than from those blood products produced in the United Kingdom.

Yours faithfully,

R. B. CHRISTIE

(Clinical and Technical Affairs
Director — Europe,
Amour Pharmaceutical Co. Ltd.,

RPR House,

52 St Leonards Road,

Eastbourne, East Sussex

October 27.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 PEMBROOK STREET, LONDON E1 9NN Telephone 071-782 5000

Spending in a time of recession

From Professor Simon Wren-Lewis and Professor A. J. Clunies Ross

Sir, Over the last few months the government's economic policy has moved substantially in the right direction. In particular we believe it was right to abandon one-dimensional rules involving a single intermediate target in favour of a more discretionary approach, with the primary aim of ending the recession.

Attempts to follow simple rules to control inflation have had a disastrous effect on the UK economy: first in the early 1980s with monetary targets, and then most recently with an over-valued exchange-rate target. In both cases the economy has been allowed to fall into an unnecessarily severe recession, to which economic policy could have responded if it had not been obsessed with a single target.

As inflationary pressures build up, the alternative to interest rates is to use taxation policy to slow consumer spending. This can be targeted at consumers by raising income tax, whilst leaving corporate taxes alone.

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COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE
November 2: The Duke of Edinburgh, Trustee, this evening attended a Meeting of the Prince Philip Trust Fund for the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead.

The Royal Highness Honorary Member, Rotary Club of Windsor St. George, later arrived at a Banquet at the Guildhall, Windsor and was received on arrival by Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for the Royal County of Berkshire (Mr. John Henderson).

KENSINGTON PALACE
November 2: The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester today vis-

ited Worcester and were received by Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant for Hereford and Worcester (Mr. Thomas Dunn).

In the morning Their Royal Highnesses opened the Crown Gate Centre, Worcester.

In the afternoon The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester visited Dyson Perrins Museum, Seven Street, Worcester.

Mrs Michael Wigley and Major Nicholas Barne were in attendance.

Viscount Linley celebrates his birthday today.

Dinners

Woolmen's Company
The Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Sheriffs, was the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Master, Mr Barry H. Jefferson, and the Wardens of the Woolmen's Company last night at Saddlers' Hall. The Master presided. The Lord Mayor presented the Woolmen's inaugural silver medal and prize to Miss Philippa Cook for her work at the Textile Conservation Centre and the bronze medal and prize to Miss Barbara Entwistle in the Clothing and Footwear Institute competition.

Anglo-Israel Association
Professor Shlomo Avineri and Dr Martin Gilbert were the guests of honour and speakers at the annual dinner of the Anglo-Israel Association held last night at Grosvenor House to mark the 75th anniversary of the signing of the Balfour Declaration. Mr Michael Lutman, president, was in the chair and Mr Anthony Prendergast, chairman of the executive committee, spoke. Among others present were Members of Parliament, the Embassies, the Countries of Aver, Viscount Tonypandy, Lord Arundel of Lanheron, Lord and Lady Abergavenny, Lord and Lady Coats of Hartfell, Lord Gifford, Lord and Lady Gifford, Lord Goodman, Ch. lord and Lady Martyn-Rees, Lord and Lady Northcote, Lord and Lady Quigley, Lord and Lady Radclyffe, Lord Towne of Gwydir, Ch. Lord and Lady Waddington, Lord and Lady Waddington, Mrs. Mrs. Walgrave, Mr. Hon. Timothy Salterbury, MP, and Mrs. Salterbury, Mrs. J. R. Wallace, MP, Lord Williams of Mostyn, QC, and Sir Anthony Wilson.

Meeting
Royal Over-Seas League
Mr. J. Raymond Johnson, Chairman of the Forestry Commission, was the guest speaker at a meeting of the Discussion Circle of the Royal Over-Seas League held yesterday evening at Over-Seas House, St. James's. Mr. T.S. Lansley presided.

Royal Academy of Engineering
The President, Sir William Barlow, FEng, presided at the New Fellow Dinner held last night at the Merchant Taylors' Hall. The Speech of Welcome and Vote to New Fellows was proposed by the President, Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Hill, KBE, FEng, responded on behalf of the New Fellows.

Today's royal engagements

The Duke of Edinburgh, President of the Trustees of Westminster Abbey Trust, will attend a meeting and reception in Westminster Abbey at 5.00.

The Princess Royal will attend the Conference of Secretaries of Agricultural Shows, Ipswich, at 11.00; will visit St Elizabeth Hospice, Foxhall Road, Ipswich, at 1.25; and, as Patron of the Canal Museum Trust, will attend an exhibition preview and reception at the London Canal Museum, 12/13 New Wharf, N1, at 5.45.

Birthdays today

Mr Kenneth Baker, CH, MP, SB; Mr John Biffen, MP, 62; Mr Jeremy Brett, actor, 57; Mr Charles Bronson, actor, 70; the Earl of Caithness, 44; Sir Kenneth Coxley, former chairman, Joseph Lucas Industries, 34; Miss Victoria Ewin, prima ballerina, 57; Mr Roy Eaton, tennis player, 56; Ms Jean Floutier, former captain, Newmarket College, Cambridgeshire, 77; Mr Michael Gallo, editor, *Sporting Life*, 48; Sir Philip Goodhart, former MP, 67; Mr Larry Holmes boxer, 43; Mr Ludovic Kennedy, broadcaster, 73; Sir Christopher Leaver, former Lord Mayor of London, 55; the Earl of Lonsdale, 70; Lulu, singer and actress, 44; the Earl of Meath, 82; Major-General Viscount Monckton of Brenchley, 77; Mr Kenneth Morgan, former director, Press Complaints Commission, 64; Mr Conor Cruise O'Brien, journalist and author, 75; Sir Timothy Raison, former MP, 63; Vice-Admiral Sir John Webster, 60.

William Mathias

A Service of Thanksgiving for the life and work of the composer William Mathias will be held in St Paul's Cathedral, at 11.30am on Friday, November 20.

Mr Ulysses Guimaraes

A book of condolence on the death of Mr Ulysses Guimaraes will be open for signatures at the Brazilian Embassy, 32 Green Street, London, W1, today, from 10.30am to 1pm and from 3pm to 5pm.

St Andrew's Ball

The St Andrew's Ball will be held at Grosvenor House on Monday, November 30. There will be a pre-ball session at Wandsworth Town Hall on Thursday, November 26. Ball tickets are £55 including dinner and breakfast, £45 Ball and breakfast only, from the Ball Secretary, The Garden House, Cheam, Sutton, Surrey, CR4 0QQ. Telephone 0962 771 352/666.



Golden girl: Irene Hildred, 72, after receiving a Golden Award from Help the Aged for her work with young people, presented at the London Hilton by Dame Barbara Cartland. In 1983 Mrs Hildred took her granddaughter to her first Girls Brigade meeting in Sleaford, Lincolnshire. Since then she has taught knitting, sewing, cooking, road safety and bible studies, and run summer camps

Church news

Appointments
The Rev Michael Hill, Rector, Chesham, to be Archdeacon of Berkshire, diocese of Oxford.
The Rev Canon Edward Burrows, Diocesan Chaplain, Archdeacon of Oxford and St Martin, Lincoln (Lincoln).
The Rev Canon Paul Allouez, Rector, St Edmundsbury, Suffolk, and Honorary Canon of Norwich Cathedral, Norwich, to be Team Rector, Kenethgate, Ipswich.
The Rev Canon Peter Cawthron, Canon Chancellor, St Edmundsbury, to the Vicar, Hammarby St. Mary (Lincoln).
The Rev Canon Cedric Clark, Assistant Canon, Great Chalfield, Wiltshire, to the Vicar, Woolsey (Oxford).
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The Rev Christopher Buckley, Curate, St Edmundsbury, to be Vicar, Jersey, St Martin (Witney).
The Rev Canon Edward Burrows, Diocesan Chaplain, Archdeacon of Oxford and St Martin, Lincoln (Lincoln).
The Rev Canon Peter Cawthron, Canon Chancellor, St Edmundsbury, to the Vicar, Woolsey (Oxford).
The Rev Douglas Fletcher, Priest-in-Charge, Kennington, London, to the Vicar, St Andrew's, St Edmundsbury, and Woolsey (Oxford).
The Rev Robert Cuth-Poller, Assistant Curate, St Edmundsbury, to the Vicar, St Edmundsbury, and Woolsey (Oxford).
The Rev Nigel Glazebrook, Rector, St Mary, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, to be Vicar, Great and Little Hampstead, London, to be also Rural Dean of Colchester (Chelmsford).
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NEWS

Major takes on the mutineers

John Major led a cabinet campaign to bring Tory rebels into line on Maastricht amid mounting evidence that the government faces a perilously close vote. Describing himself as the cabinet's biggest Euro-sceptic, he reassured MPs about British sovereignty and warned them not to be put off by "Euro-waffle" in the Maastricht treaty preamble. His address to 15 MPs followed calls by Michael Heseltine and Kenneth Clarke, but the rebels' ranks swelled to well above the critical point of 30. Pages 1, 10, 14, 16, 17

'Don't call me First Lady'

If the polls are right, Hillary and Bill Clinton are heading for victory, and Mrs Clinton is about to transform the White House, defining the new era by replacing the term "First Lady" with "Presidential Partner". Pages 1, 10, 14, 16, 17

Brittan's warning

Sir Leon Brittan, the senior British EC commissioner, said that failure to ratify the Maastricht treaty would mean that the European Community could not complete the single European market. Page 2

Secret of 1988

How has George Bush, 20 months ago the most popular president since polling started, come so perilously close to defeat? The answer lies in his campaign of 1988. Page 10

Murder charge

A man stabbed to death a police sergeant, murdered two house-holders in their homes and wounded two other officers in east London last autumn, the Old Bailey was told. Nicholas Vernage, of no fixed address, denies murder, attempted murder and burglary. Page 4

Factional war

Joe Hendron, SDLP MP for West Belfast, gave a warning of a sudden explosion of violence between Republican factions after ten "punishment" shootings at the weekend. Page 6

Topsy-turvy talk

Desperate times, they say, justify desperate measures. Matthew Parris explains how MPs' use of language turns the old rule topsy-turvy. Page 2

Filling the void

Sinister ideologies are filling the spiritual void left by communists. Page 11

Big business suffers stage fright

Companies are rejecting philanthropy for hard-headed publicity deals as sponsorship budgets are decided for 1993, and many threatened arts groups are being forced to be more aggressive in pursuit of corporate support. Those lucky enough to secure sponsorship have to negotiate contracts giving businesses more publicity than ever. Page 6



Sombre start: The Prince and Princess of Wales at a war memorial on the first day of their visit to Seoul. Page 11

Pension levy

A levy on all pension schemes to pay for any future Robert Maxwell-style plundering was proposed by the National Association of Pension Funds. It would be compulsory and would fund a compensation scheme operated by a statutory body. Page 21

Nameless until 18
The High Court made an order forbidding a girl aged 14 who is seeking to "divorce" her parents from being identified for four years, until she reaches the age of majority. Page 3

Greenhouse effect
Halfway through their two-year mission to create a sealed world in the Arizona desert, two of the eight men and women inside Biosphere 2 have to breathe pure oxygen at night to offset the potentially dangerous deterioration in air quality. Page 4

Leasehold fight
The country's most powerful landlords, including the Duke of Westminster and the Earl of Cadogan, are fighting to limit proposals to allow up to 750,000 leaseholders to gain their freehold. Page 5

Anti-Panic campaign
Yugoslavia's top military and political leaders met in emergency session as radical Serb nationalists launched a campaign to depose Milan Panic, the prime minister. Page 11

Couch quits
Two days after his team lost 17-12 to Australia in Dublin, Ciaran Fitzgerald resigned as Ireland's rugby union coach with a record of three wins and 14 defeats. Page 40

Faldo's year
Nick Faldo's fifth-title season and concludes that in 1992 that it is still possible for one player to dominate golf. Page 36

Markets
The pound dropped 2.5c against a strong dollar, closing at \$1.5370, but recovered after a weak start against the mark to end at DM2.4046, down .40pt. Renewed talk of interest rate cuts lifted shares; the FTSE-100 closed up 29.5 at 2,687.8. Page 21

Dyfed & Pembrokeshire
Dyfed & Pembrokeshire, Wales, and the Isle of Man. Page 718

W & S Yorks & Dales
W & E England, N & E District, N & W Scotland, W Central Scotland, S & S Wales & Borders, Central Scotland, Grampian & E Highlands, N W Scotland, N & W Shetland & Orkney, N Ireland. Page 727

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M-ways/roads M23-Darford T 734
M-ways/roads M25 London Orbital only 735

National motorways
National motorways 737

West Country
West Country 738

Midlands
Midlands 740

East Anglia
East Anglia 741

North-west England
North-west England 742

North-east England
North-east England 743

Northern Ireland
Northern Ireland 745

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Nottinghamshire & Derbyshire 714

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N & E England 718

N & W Lake District 719

S W Scotland 720

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N W Scotland 725

Orkney & Shetland 726

N Ireland 727

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